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ABSTRACT

The dramatic increase in the number of immigrant children in British schools during the last decade has posed many difficult problems. For both educationists and social scientists interested in the problems of culture conflict and resocialization, it presents a a real, urgent but immensely interesting issue to be studied. The research in the field to-date has been almost entirely of a qualitative nature and quantitative studies are almost non-existent. The present study was undertaken to compare the socio-personal adjustment of immigrant children in a North London school, with a control group of English children, and to study the correlates of such 'adjustment'. A 'well-adjusted' person was defined as an individual who is

(a) socially acceptable,
(b) personally satisfied,
(c) free from anxiety, and
(d) has an objective self-concept.

The variables for the study of their relationship with 'adjustment' were chosen partly as a result of the survey of previous studies and partly through a survey of the opinions of teachers of immigrant children. The investigator spent about eighteen months in the school as a schoolteacher for the purpose of establishing rapport. No formal testing of any kind was carried out until the investigator had established rapport with children of *all* races and was being perceived and categorised primarily as a *teacher* and *not* as a *member of any particular race*.

The sample consisted of 174 West Indian (90 boys and 84 girls) and 76 Cypriot (38 boys and girls each) children

at the school. This comprised the entire immigrant population at that school, with the exception of three Cypriots who could not speak English and hence could not be tested, and a few children of other races whose number was too small for any statistical analysis.

A specially constructed adjustment scale (composed of four sub-scales - social acceptability, personal satisfaction, freedom from anxiety and objectivity of self-concept,) Raven Progressive Matrices, Mill Hill Vocabulary Scale, New Junior Maudsley Personality Inventory, Cotswold Personality Inventory, a semi-structured interview, and school records were used as measuring instruments.

English children were found to be better adjusted, more personally satisfied, less anxious, less extraverted, less interested in things but more interested in ideas than immigrant children. Immigrant children were found to have a less objective self-concept, lower academic achievement, lower attainment in written English, vocabulary and fluency of spoken English, and lower non-verbal intelligence test scores than English children. No significant differences were found between social acceptability, non-academic achievement, interest in people and attitude towards school scores of English and Cypriot children. West Indian children were more interested in people, had a less unfavourable attitude towards school, a higher non-academic achievement, but were less socially acceptable than the English children. The Cypriots were found to be better adjusted, more socially acceptable, less anxious and as having more objective self-concept but lower non-academic achievement and less interested in people than the West Indians.

No significant differences were found between the personal satisfaction, academic achievement, attainment in written English, vocabulary and fluency of spoken English, I.Q., extraversion, interest in things and ideas, and attitude towards school scores of the two groups of immigrant children.

'Adjustment' of immigrant children was found to be positively and significantly related to their academic achievement, attainment in written English, extraversion, interest in people, attitude towards school, and friendship with English children. Family size, interest in things, interest in ideas, and difference between vocational aspirations and expectations were found to be negatively and significantly related to 'adjustment'. No relationship between 'adjustment' of immigrant children and age, age at the time of emigration, length of residence in the U.K., intention of returning home, living with one or both parents, working mother, non-academic achievement, fluency of spoken English, vocabulary, intelligence test scores, expectation of high status jobs, and aspiration of high status jobs, could be established.

The results showed that there was very little mixing among children of different races. Only 22.4% of the West Indians claimed the friendship of even one English child while only 14·5% of the Cypriots and 2·9% of the West Indians claimed an English child as their 'best friend'. Only 13·2% of the Cypriot and 2·9% of the West Indian families were on visiting terms with an English family in their neighbourhood.

Case histories of five most 'well-adjusted' and five least 'well-adjusted' Cypriot and West Indian children

each were recorded. Some suggestion were made about the suitable actions that could be taken by the various people concerned with the education of immigrants and some proposals for further research in the area were outlined.

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CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

THE PROBLEM

There has been a dramatic increase in the number of immigrant children in British schools in the last decade. Some of these children were born here of immigrant parents and speak English with a perfect local accent, while others have arrived with a completely different cultural background and various stages of schooling behind them. Some, for example, Cypriots, are generally treated as whites, others as non-whites. Some children have spoken English as their mother-tongue all their lives, whilst others can hardly understand it. The problem of integrating these children from such diverse backgrounds into the British school system has indeed been demanding. Add to this the emotional overtones of race relations and one has all the ingredients of an explosive situation.

Most parents, teachers, local education authorities, and social workers realise the tremendous difficulties facing these children, but are hampered in their efforts by a lack of guidance derived from the findings of sound empirical research. Does speaking a language other than English in their homes hold them back? Is a strong involvement with their home culture antagonistic to their adjustment to British school life?

Although this problem has been the subject of much popular controversy, there has been virtually no scientific exploration of the British field. After reviewing the current work on research and teaching of immigrant

children, Goldman (1967) came to the conclusion that there is an urgent need for research in this area since research at present, is practically non-existent. Of late, there has been a noticeable increase in the number of discussions in the popular press and educational journals, about the problems of educating immigrant children. Conferences of the teachers most intimately concerned have been organised. Such discussions have, with rare exceptions, been based on personal experience. The London Head Teachers Association (1965), for example, put forward its view that children who have attended infant schools in this country are more easily integrated. "It is the experience of junior and secondary schools, that children who had full range of training in an infant school in *this* country are much less of a problem than others who come direct from an area where educational facilities are either completely lacking or deficient in quality". This rule, presumably applies to all children, regardless of their colour, cultural background or attitudes. Hawkes (1966) noted a tendency amongst teachers to stress the role of language in bringing about integration. "Again and again teachers and observers have said that language is the key to the problem of integrating in the educational system". On the other hand, some people who are presumably just as qualified by virtue of their experience, have denied altogether that immigrant children pose a problem. They admit that the incidence of maladjustment amongst immigrant children may perhaps be a shade higher than the indigenous population but these "occasional cases of maladjustment can be put down to bewilderment at the sudden transition from one country to

another". (Times Educational Supplement 27th August, 1965).

While such generalizations based on personal experience are perhaps useful for discussions and pooling of experience, they are very poor substitutes for sound research, as guidelines for action. The distortion of an individual's perceptual process through attitudes, stereotypes and conceptions of human nature held by the individual, is too well established to be discussed here.

An implicit assumption behind all the discussion seems to have been that *integration* of immigrant children is of vital importance; that once integration is achieved all will be well. The term 'integration' has been most commonly meant to imply acceptance of the newcomer by society while he reciprocates by understanding, or even adopting the traditions and the ways of life of the culture in which he finds himself. The thinking appears to be along the lines that since immigrant children wish to enter an existing system, it is they who should make the necessary adaptations to fit the system. The idea that these children have their own unique contribution to make; that changes must necessarily be made in the teaching methods, organisation of classes, techniques of assessment of educational potential, to meet the needs of these children, is usually ignored.

Integration could be at two levels. At the surface level it may produce only outward conformity to social norms and values while at the deeper level it may result in complete identification with the society with which the individual is integrated. The surface level integra-

tion could be produced by a system of rewards and punishments. Brunswik (1947) reminds us that forced integration may lead to the very opposite of the desired results. "Forced submission to authority produces only surface conformity countermanded by violent underlying destructiveness, dangerous to the very society to which there seems to be conformity. Only a frightened and frustrated child will tend to gain safety and security by oversimplified black-white schematizations and categorizations on the basis of crude external characteristics". Do these children *wish* to be integrated? Is integration indeed as desirable as it is often alleged to be? Hoyt (1963) after examining the integration policies of the U.S.A., U.S.S.R., South Africa, New Zealand and India has given a timely warning against a very potent danger. "We see very clearly the advantages of our own culture, but we do not see our own limitations, nor do we see the values that others have and lose when they come in close contact with us".

Integration at the surface level may appear at first, to solve the problems of a society which suddenly finds itself confronted with a large number of strangers without having evolved successful ways of coping with the problems of resocialization of the newcomers. But external integration would, in the long run, solve nothing. It would merely help to create a class of individuals readily distinguishable by their external appearance, overtly complying with the social norms, but full of resentment and contempt towards the social structure which put them in that situation. In the last

analysis, it is the *adjustment* of the individual which must concern us most. If the aim of education is to develop 'the whole man' then it is 'adjustment' rather than 'integration' that should be stressed. Integration would be but one of the necessary conditions for adjustment. Adjusted pupils would be integrated pupils.

Awareness of the fact that a feeling of being wanted is essential for integration (and therefore for adjustment) seems to be lacking in Britain today. Studying the process of integration in the U.S.A., Havinghurst and Neugarten (1959) remarked "It cannot be stressed enough that a feeling of being wanted and being needed by the community in which the refugee, immigrant and migrant lives provides the basic framework within which an education programme can successfully operate so as to integrate such 'foreign children'. Schools are powerful instruments in promoting such concepts".

It seems thus, that adjustment of immigrant children should be our aim. The adjustment would be brought about not through external pressures, but by internalization of values and norms, by self-acceptance and acceptance of others. While studying Puerto Rican children in New York, Morrison (1958) found that favourable attitudes towards school, peers, and living in New York were characteristic of rapidly adjusting children. The Ministry of Education pamphlet "English for Immigrants" (1963) also emphasised adjustment rather than integration. "It is part of a school's general responsibility to assist its pupils to become adjusted to the environment in which they find themselves and

indeed its success in so doing will largely affect its success in its more specifically educational objectives".

Adjustment, thus, should be the central concern of educationists interested in the problems of immigrant children. Yet there is an almost complete lack of research evidence about factors, influences, conditions and traits which are conducive or otherwise to harmonious adjustment of children and migrant parents all over the world. Seigel (1957) in his Philadelphia study is only scratching the surface when he states "it is difficult to escape the general indication that the Philadelphia migrant perceives his Philadelphia milieu as somewhat distant and unfriendly. It is also hard to avoid the general conclusion that it is difficult to adjust to a social world that is so perceived". Roucer (1962) studied educational problems of children from immigrant, refugee and migrant families in the U.S.A. He points out that "adjustments outside the home, as well as within it are fraught with conflicts for the child of this type. To all the possible class disadvantages are added the ethnic, and possibly also religious differences that set it apart from the mainstream of dominant culture around it. Sooner or later the child often feels that the two worlds are incompatible; that it is a handicap to be a foreigner, and that social rewards go to those who succeed in completely sloughing off the signs and symbols of their origin. Paradoxically the ones that are best adjusted to their home-culture patterns are usually the least likely to succeed in the larger society".

Although migration is older than civilization itself, mass migration on the present scale is a comparatively recent phenomenon. It poses extremely important but very subtle problems for the social scientist. As Kelman (1965) has pointed out, only through systematic application of social science can these problems be solved and humanity helped. "Psychology and social science in general can be instruments for the liberation of man that can help to counteract the massive forces towards dehumanization with which our world is confronted. Through analysis and understanding of human dimensions of our social institutions we hope to increase the likelihood that they would serve human purposes. Through systematic application of social-psychological concepts and methods we hope to contribute to the rational solution of social problems, consistent with fundamental human needs of security, dignity and personal fulfilment".

Taft (1962) has tried to put the problem of adjustment and assimilation of immigrants in a theoretical framework. "The assimilation of immigrants can be treated as a case of socialization, or more strictly resocialization, involving such psychological factors as change in attitudes, values, and identification; the acquisition of new social skills and behaviour norms; changes in reference and membership group affiliations; and emotional adjustment to a changed environment. The study of assimilation of immigrants can serve as a prototype for other social processes whereby a group imposes pressures on new members to accommodate their attitudes, behaviour and affiliations".

In view of the above discussion, it is proposed to study the socio-personal adjustment of immigrant children in a London school and to determine the factors that are related to their harmonious adjustment.

WHO IS AN IMMIGRANT CHILD?

Although some local education authorities keep records and publish statistics of immigrant children, there seems to be no generally agreed definition of an 'immigrant child'. Leeds Education Authority, for example, defines, 'immigrant children' as "coloured children born in tropical countries of the Commonwealth, or children born in this country at least one of whose parents was from a tropical country". (Butterworth, 1967). This definition is ambiguous on many points. What exactly is tropical Commonwealth? Who should be regarded as coloured? Are Cypriots coloured? Is Northern Australia part of tropical Commonwealth? Is Cyprus? Should a child of West Indian parents who settled in Britain during the 19th century still be regarded as an immigrant?

The Schools Council sent two questionnaires to Chief Education Officers on 1st November, 1965 to obtain factual data about immigrant children. The Council's definition of an immigrant child rested on one criterion - English being child's second and not first language. Thus the term 'immigrant child' included

(a) all West Indians

(b) children of Asian, African, European and other immigrant groups and children of mixed marriages, irrespective of their place of birth provided they normally spoke a language other than English as their mother-tongue.

The rationale of including West Indians among non-English speakers was that a very large majority of them speak a type of 'Creole English' as opposed to 'standard English'.

The Council's definition errs in including all West Indians and other immigrant groups regardless of their period of residence in this country. There is a small group of fourth or even fifth generation immigrants resident in several sea ports. To classify children who not only speak 'standard English' as opposed to 'Creole English' but speak it with a heavy local accent, as immigrant, is obviously unsatisfactory. They are immigrant neither in letter nor in spirit.

The Ministry of Education (1963) pamphlet '*English for Immigrants*' failed to define the term 'immigrant' as did the circular 7/65 *Education of Immigrants*. On enquiry by *an unnamed association* the Ministry defined the term 'immigrant child' as "a child born overseas or in Britain during the last ten years, of Immigrant parents" (Power, 1966). The Plowden Report (1967) seems to think along similar lines. It did, however replace the 'last ten years' by a definite date. The report defined an immigrant child as "a child born abroad of immigrant parents or born in this country of parents who emigrated after 1955".

The definition leads to an apparent contradiction in terms. How could a child who was born here and is a British national by birth and nationality be classified as an immigrant? But Power (1966) points out that 'immigrant child' is a technical term which is applied to children with certain socio-cultural backgrounds and

who may need special educational treatment. "The notion of 'immigrant born here' corresponds to an educational reality as many teachers know from their own personal experience" (Power, 1966). The official thinking seems to be that although the choice of a date would necessarily be an arbitary one, a period of 12 years is long enough for the parents to have been sufficiently acculturised for their children not to be classified as immigrants.

The official definition, however, does not clarify the position of children of mixed parentage nor does it take account of the home culture of the child, the first and foremost indication of which is the mother-tongue of the child. An Australian child could hardly be regarded as 'immigrant' in the sense the Department of Education meant the term to convey.

For the purpose of this thesis, therefore, an 'immigrant child in England' is meant to include children

(a) who were born abroad of immigrant parents or who were born of parents at least one of whom has emigrated to England since 1955; and

(b) whose mother-tongue is other than standard English.

COLOURED

The term 'coloured' is given different meaning in the various English-speaking multi-racial societies. In South Africa, the only country in the world where the term has received official recognition, it is applied only to the people of mixed racial parentage. The races are thus classified as Whites, Coloured, Indians, Bantu,

Chinese, etc. In the United States of America the term 'coloured' is usually applied to local Negroes and other dark people of African stock. Turks, Arabs, Chinese, Hawaians,Puerto Ricans and other people with pigmented skins are not regarded as coloured. "In Britain the term 'coloured' has very wide connotation. British people do not differentiate between the various immigrant groups from the different parts of the tropical commonwealth. The shades of colour, to which most of the immigrants are extremely sensitive, means little or nothing to English eyes" (Hill, 1965).

The term, in fact, includes every non-white person in Britain. Thus half or full Chinese, Indians, Pakistanis, Arabs, West Indians, Africans would all be regarded as coloured. The term is used throughout this thesis in the traditional British sense. Thus a coloured child could be defined as a child with at least one non-white parent.

The adjustment of immigrant children can only be discussed against the background of the state of race relations in Britain today. It is therefore proposed to examine very briefly, the present racial situation in Britain and to set the problem of immigrant children in its historical perspective.

THE PRESENT RACIAL SITUATION IN BRITAIN

There are four major groups of immigrants in this country. The largest group of all are the West Indians. Most of them are unskilled or semi-skilled workers in transport, industry and building trades. Very few of the West Indian males are skilled workers and professional personnel are rare. Apart from working in factories,

a large number of West Indian females are employed in hospitals and the catering trade. By virtue of the nature of their employment West Indians are concentrated almost exclusively in urban districts and large towns. They usually go to the same church as the local population but have their own social clubs. Overwhelmingly West Indian social clubs, dance halls have developed only when they have been excluded from sharing these facilities with the indigenous population. Western dress is worn by both men and women. They profess Christian faith and speak English as their mother-tongue. Their language, however, is a form of Creole English and is different both in structure and pronunciation from standard English.

Indians form the second largest group of immigrants. There are two quite distinct groups amongst Indians. The professional group which includes doctors, teachers and the like, is scattered all over the United Kingdom and originates from all parts of India. They speak English fluently, though sometimes with a sing-song accent and usually face few problems of integration. The semi-skilled and the unskilled worker group of Indians is much larger in size. An overwhelming majority of this group originated from rural Punjab and to a lesser degree from Gujerat and the South. Their mother-tongue is Punjabi, Gujerati, Tamil or another Indian language. They do not speak English on arrival and some cannot speak it even after several years of residence in the U.K. Their food is distinctively Indian, some being vegetarians. Men wear western clothes while the women, on the whole, prefer their sarees and salvars. Western

dress and going out for work is an exception rather than the rule. They are usually Hindus or Sikhs, (though some may be Muslims or Christians) by religion and have their own places of worship and keep their own religious festivals. Attending English social clubs or dance halls is strongly disapproved by their own community. Social activities are almost totally restricted to their own ethnic group. There is little mixing of sexes and it is not uncommon to find a girl born and brought up in England to be married, through parental arrangement, to a boy in the Punjab she has never seen in her life.

The Pakistanis are the closest knit group of immigrants. Like Indians there is a small group of Pakistani professional people in this country. The large unskilled and semi-skilled worker group originates from the Punjab, Bengal and Azad Kashmir. A very large proportion of the married men have left their families behind. The proportion of married men living alone is highest among Pakistanis. The men wear western dress but the women keep to their traditional costumes. Sexual segregation is strict and communication across sexes rare. Women are rarely allowed to go out to work. Urdu or Bengali is spoken at home. Few speak English on arrival and even after several years English is spoken with difficulty and only when essential. They are Muslims by religion, have their own mosques and keep their own religious festivals. Religious rituals are rigorously adhered to and pork is not eaten. They usually prefer their own food, see Indian or Pakistani films and listen to Eastern music. Social interaction is almost totally limited to their own ethnic group.

Cypriots also form two sub-groups, the Turkish and the Greek Cypriots. The former are Muslims by religion, the latter Christian. Most of the Cypriots are in skilled, semi-skilled or unskilled occupations. They speak Greek or Turkish as their mother-tongue and have settled mostly in and around London. Of the immigrant groups, they have perhaps been most easily assimilated. This may be due to the fact that they are generally treated as whites and their community is not so strongly opposed to integration as, for example, the Pakistanis.

Although there have been pockets of coloured population at some sea ports for a long time, an influx of a large number of Commonwealth immigrants has been a recent phenomenon. The second world war could be regarded as the turning point in the history of Commonwealth immigration to Britain. Arrival of a large number of Commonwealth troops who saw much wider economic and educational opportunities here, closing of the United States for the West Indian immigrants by the Johnson Act, mushrooming of the number of overseas students who carried first hand information back to their countries, relative ease of travel, all contributed towards a rapid increase in immigration to Britain.

Prior to the second world war, race relations were hardly a problem in Britain. Talking of the good old days Gardiner (1965) said "In my student days just before the last war, when race problems were discussed in Britain, it was always in connection with the United States, South Africa, East Africa, and other 'remote' parts of the world. There was unanimous and public condemnation of race theories and practices associated with the Nazi

regime in Germany. Now we read that the Ku Klux Klan cross has been burned in England, something that people who think they know and understand Britain find hard to imagine".

Britain was probably the only country in the world that allowed unrestricted immigration from a group of nations of unequal social, political economic developments. As a result the number of immigrants increased quite sharply in succeeding years. A steady trickle just after the second world war had developed into a flood by 1961. No figures are available for the period before 1955 but table 1.1 shows how the number of immigrants had increased from 42,700 in 1955 to 136,400 in 1961. By this time it had become apparent that some restrictions were necessary. This led to the passing of the Immigration Act (1962) which restricted entry into Britain of all Commonwealth citizens except

(a) students and visitors
(b) immigrants resident in Britain and returning from abroad
(c) spouse and dependants of immigrants already here
(d) persons who were issued 'employment vouchers'
(e) individuals who had already secured an offer of appointment in the U.K.

Even after the restrictions imposed by the 1962 Immigration Act, voices were being raised that immigration constitutes a very potent threat to the stability of English society and the numbers should be further reduced. In a book with a rather provocative title "The Unarmed Invasion" Lord Elton (1965) argued that mass immigration

Table 1.1

NET IMMIGRATION FROM COMMONWEALTH
EXCLUDING WHITE DOMINIONS

Years	West Indies	India	Pakistan	Others	TOTAL
1955	27,550	5,800	1,850	7,500	42,700
1956	29,800	5,600	2,050	9,400	46,850
1957	23,000	6,600	5,200	7,600	42,400
1958	15,000	6,200	4,700	3,950	29,850
1959	16,400	2,950	850	1,400	21,600
1960	49,650	5,900	2,500	350	57,400
1961	66,300	23,750	25,100	21,250	136,400

Net immigration equals the number arriving in Britain from a given area minus the number returning home from Britain.

Sources

Hansard March 18, 1965

Home Office Statistics, Cmnd 2379 and 2658

White Paper on Immigration Cmnd 2739

constitutes "a social crisis, the gravest social crisis since the industrial revolution. Already the mass immigration of the last decade has created many problems which we have not solved, and is still creating them. Already it threatens to bring about changes far reaching and wholly unplanned into the character of Britain as we have known it".

The Labour party while in opposition had strongly objected to the passing of the 1962 Immigration Act. When it gained power, its policy was completely reversed. Not only did it now accept that the 1962 Act was necessary, but also that the restrictions imposed by the 1962 Act were insufficient. The annual net immigration of around 60,000 was deemed to be too high and unacceptable. The 1965 Immigration Act abolished the right of entry of persons who had been offered employment in the U.K. and restricted the total number of voucher-holders to 8,500 in any one year. The 1968 Immigration Act further abolished the right of entry of children under 16 if *both* his parents were not living in the U.K.

Arguments have been advanced that there is a likelihood of an even greater increase in the immigrant population through the natural birth-rate which is higher among immigrants. The Economic Intelligence Unit (1962) estimated the birth-rate among immigrants to be about 25 per 1,000 compared to 18 per 1,000 in the native population. Waterhouse and Barbban (1964) also found similar differences between fertility of immigrants and indigenous groups. Such differences would, however, disappear if the two samples were

equalised in age. Most immigrants are young and their birth rate could not be legitimately compared with the birth-rate of an all-age sample.

Immigrants are often distressed to discover how little the ordinary "man in the street" knows about their countries. There is a tendency to lump West Indians, Africans, Indians and Pakistanis under one label 'coloured' and to be quite ignorant of the cultural variations between the immigrant sub-groups. The fact that an urban educated Indian may have more in common with an Englishman of similar background than with an uneducated Pakistani with a rural background, is seldom realised. Of late, there seems to have been some appreciation of the fact that problems of adjustment of Indian and Pakistanis, who live in close-knit communities may be very different from those of West Indians. Robin (1965) is obviously writing about both Indians and Pakistanis when he said "In many ways the West Indian immigrant is culturally our own poor relation, poor indeed, but our own. The Indian is not in that position. Whether Sikh, Hindu or Moslem, he arrives with a religious and cultural tradition which can compare with our own. Nobody who has ever made contact with one of these cultures in India has any doubt of this, whatever value he may place upon Indian culture". There is little desire among working class Indians and Pakistanis to integrate. They have their own religious activities, entertainments, clubs, pubs, newspapers, social activities and the like. Contact with English people is often limited to interaction at work, shopping and other essential activities. In fact, the community operates its own 'voluntary

apartheid' and intends to practice it. The West Indian, on the other hand, looks upon England as his mother-country. He shares with English people two major aspects of his life, religious faith and language. He wishes to be integrated into English society and its culture as thoroughly and quickly as possible.

The immigrants are distributed across the country in clusters of national groups. Southall has a large population of Indians, Bradford of Pakistanis, Brixton of West Indians and Islington of Cypriots. The socio-psychological factors which have produced this are these. The first need on arrival of an immigrant is to find somewhere to live. In a strange land he feels a little less bewilderment and insecurity if he can share accommodation with someone who at least shares his language, food habits and cultural background. This concentration of immigrants in national groupings seems to be a universal phenomenon. It is certainly true of the U.S.A., Canada and Australia. An Englishman who has to live in an Indian town, for example, would probably head straight for the English quarter of the town.

For a coloured immigrant in England who wishes to break away from home culture, it is difficult to find accommodation in the low immigrant concentration areas. He is discriminated against by white landlords, by building societies and estate agents. The only way he can buy a house is to borrow money from finance companies charging exorbitant interest. The monthly repayments, as a consequence are too large for him to manage without letting part of his house. The only houses that he can afford to buy which are big enough for both family occupation and letting are old houses in relatively derelict districts. The house once bought is immediately let to other immigrants. White people next door start thinking about selling their house which may be bought

by another immigrant probably from the same country. English people start moving out of the street and immigrants begin moving in, gradually the whole street becomes predominantly immigrant. And so the vicious circle continues.

A similar process takes place with regard to earning a living. The immigrant learns from his fellow-countrymen that there are only certain jobs for which he is likely to be accepted. He usually applies to firms which already employ some immigrant workers, and it seems that there is gradually emerging a norm in Britain that people of certain nationalities do certain kinds of work.

Reactions to the arrival of immigrants have varied from welcome to intense disapproval. A small number of people have pointed out the advantages that immigrants bring to themselves and to the community at large. The Assistant General Secretary of the T.U.C. once declared that but for immigrant workers there would be an 'economic disaster' (Birmingham Post 2nd March 1954). Mr. St. John Stevas, M.P. (1965) pointed out that "a total of forty per cent of our doctors up to consultant level and fourteen per cent of the junior hospital staff come from the Commonwealth".

People disapproving of the arrival of a large number of Commonwealth immigrants have been both more numerous and vocal. The opposition seems to have increased with the number of immigrants. Deakin (1965) has drawn attention to the fact that in June, 1961 a Gallup Poll showed that 21% of a sample of the British electorate were in favour of free entry, 68% wanted restrictions

and 6% were for a total ban. Another Gallup Poll taken in July 1964, found that only 10% favoured free entry, 68% were for restrictions and 20% for a total ban. Deakin (1965) is of the opinion that immigration has been one of the central issues in the 1965 elections in many constituencies, of which he has studied six in detail. Chater (1966) has analysed the main fears of the British public. The apprehensions were that

1. Coloured immigrants are responsible for the housing shortage.
2. Coloured workers threaten British wages and conditions.
3. Immigrants are holding back the education of our children.
4. Coloured immigrants bring diseases into Britain.
5. Immigrants have caused an increase in crime.
6. Immigrants are dirty, noisy and always causing a nuisance.
7. Immigrants are a heavy burden on our social services.
8. Inter-marriage may lead to degeneracy, social disorder and moral corruption.
9. Their moral and social standards are lower than ours.
10. If immigration is not stopped immediately we will be ruled by them in 20 years time.

Richmond (1955) conducted a survey of British attitudes towards coloured 'colonials' in 1951. He concluded that roughly one third of the British population is extremely prejudiced, one third mildly prejudiced, and the remainder tolerant. Banton (1958) however, maintains that although evidence of discrimina-

tion is undeniable, colour prejudice was not so widespread as Richmond had predicted. He interviewed a national sample of 300 and found that none of his subjects supported the theory that biological differences are relevant to questions of social equality. Only 10% of the subjects contributed to the theory of racial superiority and 2% supported it wholeheartedly. In a later survey, Banton (1959) found that only 4% of the respondents thought that coloured people are inferior to whites.

Glassand Pollins (1960) found that 15% of the sample in their survey was tolerant, 10% extremely prejudiced and the remaining showed varying degrees of prejudice. Collins (1957) found considerable regional differences. According to Collins prejudice in the local population is dependent on the size and composition of the immigrant community, the period of immigrant settlement, and the composition of the native population. Hill (1965) conducted an attitude survey of 120 people. His testees represented a cross-section of landladies, householders, employers and employees in dense, medium and low immigrant concentration areas of London. He found that 20% of his sample were severely prejudiced and 30% considerably prejudiced.

It is interesting to note that N. Dem (1953) himself a Nigerian, found considerable evidence of colour prejudice in the entire range of the white population. He concluded that a coloured person feels that almost all whites are basically prejudiced, that skin colour affects all social relationships across the colour barrier and that the sooner this is accepted the easier it will be

to achieve social justice and fair play.

It appears that a considerable hardening of opinion has taken place since Banton conducted his survey. His work was done prior to the arrival of the main body of immigrants. With the arrival of much larger numbers of non-white immigrants, propaganda put out by a number of pressure groups to support their demand for restrictions on immigration, Banton's findings certainly seem out of date. The more recent surveys seem to be supporting the view that prejudice is far more wide spread than was imagined even five years ago. Since the situation is changing fairly rapidly, it would be worth while to look in some detail at the most recent survey of discrimination conducted by the Political and Economic Planning (1967).

The survey was conducted to investigate discrimination or potential discrimination against immigrants from the West Indies, India, Pakistan and Cyprus in the fields of employment, housing credit facilities, insurance and personal services in six areas of Britain. A total of 974 immigrants were interviewed. The nationality of interviewer and interviewee was kept the same, i.e. an Indian was interviewed by an Indian, a West Indian by a West Indian and so on. Interviews with persons in a position to discriminate were carried out. 'Situation tests' were also conducted. The 'situation tests' were carried out by a team of three research workers, a coloured immigrant, a white immigrant, and a white Englishman. All the three research workers applied independently to employers, landlords, building societies, car hire and insurance firms. The occupational

roles and requirements were controlled and where these had to be varied slightly, they were always in favour of the coloured applicants.

The interviews revealed little evidence of racial prejudice. Regardless of their personal feelings, the interviewees felt that all people *should* be treated alike. They acknowledged, at least verbally, that they were against discrimination on racial grounds. Where evidence for discrimination by them was undeniable, they blamed others for their action - "the customers wouldn't like it" - "other employees would object".

The situation testing, however, revealed a completely different story. A substantial discrimination against coloured immigrants was discovered in all aspects studied. There was considerable evidence that the discrimination was based largely on colour, the West Indian being discriminated against most, the Cypriots least.

The belief that immigrants tend to be hypersensitive about colour and see discrimination where none exists, was unsupported by evidence. On the contrary, a detailed examination of the discriminatory behaviour showed that

(a) claims of discrimination by immigrants were supported by unequivocal, or at least strong circumstantial, evidence,

(b) discrimination occurred on many occasions without the immigrant being aware of it. For example, a coloured immigrant may be charged higher rates for car hire or motor insurance, or he may be told that the job has already

been taken or the house let,

(c) immigrants tend to avoid situations in which they might be discriminated against. For example over two-thirds of Asians studied had never applied for accommodation to a white landlord whom they did not already know.

The report came to a conclusion that the degree of discrimination claimed by immigrants is far less than is otherwise suggested by independent evidence. Surprisingly, the evidence of maximum discrimination was found among those with highest qualifications, general ability and familiarity with the British way of life. Of those with English trade qualifications, 70% had experienced discrimination, 44% with G.C.E. etc., had such experience, while only 36% of those who had no qualifications reported to have been discriminated against. A considerable difference was found in the behaviour of senior employers and trade unionists at the national level and the local managers and shop-stewards. While the former group was strongly in favour of integration, the latter practises discrimination, sometimes overtly but mostly covertly.

The survey concluded with the following conclusion. "This is the situation which exists now. It exists when, in both employment and housing, many immigrants are following ways of life which do not bring them into contact with potential discrimination. There were some suggestions from people in a position to discriminate that time would reduce discrimination; familiarity would reduce hostility and make immigrants more acceptable.

Such optimism is not borne out by the findings of

the research, which show two main trends:

(i) As immigrants become more accustomed to English ways of life, as they acquire higher expectations and higher qualifications, so they experience more personal direct discrimination. This is apparent in the local differences between areas with established communities as opposed to new communities. It is reflected in the experiences of school-leavers who are the children of immigrants. Inevitably their number will increase.

(ii) Awareness of discrimination, prejudice and hostility tends to make immigrants withdraw into their own closed communities. (Institute of Race Relations, 1967).

Legislative action to fight discrimination was first sought in 1965. The 1965 Race Relations Act had the following main provisions:-

(a) it prohibited racial discrimination in public places on grounds of colour, race, ethnic or national origins,

(b) it made incitement of racial hatred a criminal offence, and

(c) it created a national Race Relations Board and several Local Conciliation Committees to deal with the contravention of the Act. The conciliation committees were asked to secure settlement between the parties as far as it was possible and to use the threat of prosecution in a criminal court as a last resort.

The P.E.P. survey (1967) discussed above, made a deep impression upon the government. It soon became

obvious that the 1965 Race Relations Act left and major areas of discrimination outside its scope. As a result, at the time of writing, the Race Relations Bill (1968) was before Parliament. The bill proposes to make discrimination unlawful in the provision of goods, facilities and services, employment, trade union membership, and buying, selling or renting of houses. The contravention of the provisions of the bill are to be dealt with in the same manner as the contravention of the 1965 Race Relations Act. If a person feels that he has been discriminated against in the areas covered by the bill, he lodges a complaint with the Local conciliation committee. If that committee on making enquiries is satisfied that discrimination has taken place, it would try to settle the matter by reconciliation. Only when reconciliation has failed shall the offender be prosecuted in a court of law.

It thus appears that the rapid build-up of coloured immigrants has resulted in some degree of alienation between the various racial groups, though the situation still appears to be relatively fluid since the racial attitudes do not seem to have hardened. With this background, it is now intended to examine the education of immigrant children in British schools.

CHAPTER 2

THE EDUCATION OF IMMIGRANT CHILDREN IN BRITAIN

At first the problems faced by immigrants were in the fields of housing, employment and personal services. Education did not pose a serious problem until about 1960, as the number of immigrant children in British schools was small. Talking about teaching race relations in schools Polack (1957) wrote "The average child in this country differs from his counterpart in many other countries owing to the fact that he is not actively confronted with racial differences in his own early experience ------. Although English children have little actual experience of other racial groups, they are soon made aware of the existence of the British Commonwealth and in all sorts of ways are impressed with a sense of kinship and responsibility towards other Commonwealth countries, inhabited by peoples of every race and colour". As late as 1965 Jordan (1965) was writing "What has been published on immigrants in Britain usually only refers in passing to the education of children; generalizations are commonplace, as a rule unsupported by statistical evidence". The usual pattern of arrival among immigrants has been that the bread winner of the family arrived first, established himself in the U.K., and was then joined by his family. On the whole, West Indian parents have left children to be looked after by relatives or grandparents while the wife followed the husband shortly after his arrival in Britain. "It has been estimated that, between 1955 and

1960, 100,000 children were left in Jamaica by emigrating families" (Lee, 1965). Indian, Pakistani and Cypriot wives, on the other hand, tend to join their husbands much later and usually bring the children with them. Studying emigration from the Punjab, Shaw (1966) observed "When a family man emigrates he generally leaves his wife and family behind, returning every few years for a social visit and also to increase his family". Many of these families which were left behind are now gradually being called here.

Tapper and Stoppes (1963) have suggested that better educational facilities for children have been one of the chief motivating forces behind immigration to the U.K. They point to the excellent attendance record of the immigrant children in support of their claim. A closer examination shows this view to be fallacious. A substantial proportion of immigrants have left their children behind to be educated in their home countries. Even when they come here, it is primarily for the purpose of uniting the family rather than providing better educational facilities for the children. Nevertheless, in the last five years there has been an increasing tendency for all groups of immigrants to send for their families to come to Britain. Table 2.1 shows that in 1963 children formed a significant proportion of immigrants entering the U.K. and that the proportion of children was much higher in 1964 than in 1963; a trend which is likely to continue for some years to come.

Table 2.1

IMMIGRATION INTO BRITAIN

	Men	Women	Children	Total
(a 1963)				
West Indians	12%	36%	52%	27,086
Indians	62%	18%	20%	42,109
Pakistanis	69%	18%	13%	29,573
(b- 1964)				
West Indians	10%	37%	63%	35,672
Indians	40%	27%	33%	44,468
Pakistanis	34%	19%	47%	27,260

Source B.B.C. (1965) Colour in Britain.

It is almost impossible to trace the increase in the exact number of immigrant children in British schools during the last decade. There has been a marked reluctance on the part of both Department of Education and Science and the local education authorities to keep separate records of immigrant children. At the end of November 1963, in answer to a question about the number of immigrant children in schools Mr. C. Chataway, Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Education replied that the information was not available. This forms part of a general reluctance in government departments to keep any count of coloured persons in the country, lest they may appear to be discriminating. For example, Part III of the white paper, Immigration from the Commonwealth was writing about "the presence in this country of nearly one million immigrants from the

Commonwealth". The white paper was not drawing its statistics from any official source, but seems to have been relying on a series of articles in "The Times" which appeared under the heading "The Dark Million".

It was not until 1966 that any statistics about immigrant children were collected on the national level. The first authoritative figure of immigrant children seems to have appeared in the Plowden Report (1967) and Hunt Report (1967) which put the total figure as 131,043.

Table 2.2 and 2.3 show the distributions they quote of immigrant children in British schools.

Table 2.2

IMMIGRANT PUPILS IN JANUARY, 1966
CLASSIFIED BY COUNTRY OF ORIGIN AND SEX

	Boys	Girls	TOTAL	
			Number	%
West Indian	27,330	29,887	57,217	43.7
Indian	13,897	10,418	24,315	18.6
Pakistani	5,069	2,791	7,860	6.0
Cypriots (Greek)	4,869	4,783	9,652	7.4
Cypriots (Turkish)	1,934	1,709	3,643	2.8
Others	14,697	13,695	28,356	21.5
Total	67,796	63,247	131,043	100.0

Source Hunt Report (1967)

There are several indications that the number of immigrant children is likely to continue to grow in the next few years. Firstly a significant portion of the immigrants, especially the Asians, are yet to be joined

by their families. Secondly the immigrants tend to be both young and mainly working class; their natural increase may be expected to be larger than the *average* for the *total* population of the U.K. Thirdly, as an investigation by the Haringey Teachers Association (1966) showed there are more immigrant children in junior than secondary schools and more in infant than in junior schools. An examination of table 2.3 would show that this is true at the national level.

Table 2.3

IMMIGRANT PUPILS IN JANUARY, 1966
AS A PERCENTAGE OF ALL PUPILS
CLASSIFIED BY AGE-GROUP AND SEX

	Boys	Girls
6 and under	2.4	2.4
7 - 10	1.8	1.8
11 - 14	1.6	1.4
15 and over	1.5	1.6
All immigrant pupils	1.8	1.8

Source Hunt Report (1967)

Although immigrant children form 1.8 per cent of the total school population of England and Wales, they are very unevenly distributed. Rural schools have virtually no immigrant children while some urban schools have alarmingly large proportion of immigrants. The Commonwealth Advisory Council (1964) noted that "the evidence from one or two areas showed something a good deal more disturbing than a rise in the proportion of immigrant children in certain schools: it showed a tendency towards the creation of predominantly immig-

rant schools, partly because some parents tend to take native born children away from schools when the proportion of immigrant children exceeds a level which suggests to them that the school is becoming an immigrant school. If this trend continues, both the social and the educational consequences might be very grave". In Southall, for example four schools had more than 30% and one had nearly 60% immigrant children (Lee 1965). Of 103 schools in Harringay, 39 had 20% or more immigrant children and of these, 23 had 30% or more. Since the statistics were collected on 1st October 1965, the figures have steadily increased (Haringey Teachers Association, 1966).

Since immigrants tend to settle in relatively decaying part of the cities where educational facilities are already under pressure and poor, a very high proportion of immigrant children, in absence of any special help, puts an almost unbearable burden on the resources of the schools. The speed with which the number of immigrant children can build up can upset the planning completely. One school in Southall, for example, "had 55 immigrant and 150 English children in 1961; in 1963, it had 130 immigrant and 90 English children. An infant school in Islington had 163 immigrant children (55 per cent) in 1964. In 1960, it had 10; in 1954, 3". (Lee 1965).

Another problem is that immigrant children arrive and leave all through the year. Harringay Teachers Association (1966) for example, gave the following figures:

School 1 15 out of 16 casual admissions were immigrant.

School 2 26 out of 32 casual admissions were immigrant.

School 3 46 out of 56 immigrant children moved out.

School 4 83 out of 106 immigrant children moved out.

All these figures refer to one school year.

It is obvious from the above discussion that the build-up of immigrant children has been both rapid and uneven. It is now proposed to have a very brief look at the reactions to the arrival of a large number of immigrant children in British schools.

REACTIONS TO THE ARRIVAL OF IMMIGRANT CHILDREN

As might be expected the arrival of immigrant children in large numbers has met with reactions varying from strong disapproval to welcome. Unfortunately no statistical surveys of public opinion on the issue of education of immigrants have yet been conducted; the material discussed here has been published as personal opinions of teachers, administrators, and others, in educational journals, popular press and official reports.

The first reaction of the local education authorities was to deny that immigrant children posed any serious problem of any kind and to attempt to sweep the issue under the carpet. Hawkes (1966) in his book on immigrant children in British schools has remarked "The main hindrance to public concern has been the unwillingness of national and local authorities alike to reveal the extent of 'immigration problems' at all. Because of the atmosphere which tends to surround the immigration issue in this country, the very act of facing up to the need

for special teaching has seemed like a sort of disgrace". For example, Mr. Turner, Assistant Education Officer, Inner London Education Authority told the Times Educational Supplement that in Inner London there was no immigrant problem. "Although in 1964 there were more than 40,000 immigrant children in London schools - about half West Indians and Indians and the rest Greek and Turkish Cypriots and others, he believed, nevertheless, that there was no immigration problem in the city's schools. The immigration problem was, he claimed, very largely the creation of journalists on the look out for a sensational copy" (Times Educational Supplement, 17th September, 1965). This appears to be a wholly unrealistic attitude for an educational administrator to take. The first step towards the successful solution of any problem must surely be its recognition.

As Hawkes (1966) has pointed out that educationists amongst others must recognize the fact that Britain is already a multi-racial society. Many of its schools would soon be, if not already are, multi-racial in character. If the transition is not to be accompanied by discord, frustrations and tensions, the time to act is *now*. The practical implications of the transition must be analysed and acted upon as early as possible if we are not to be overtaken by events. Already coloured members of our community, in both housing and education, are being segregated in certain relatively under-privileged parts of certain cities and towns. The problem of evolving ghettoes is being reinforced by coloured children being taught in schools which have poor buildings, higher pupil-staff ratios, and

relative lack of cultural stimulation. If no action is taken immediately, there seems to be every likelihood of emergence of a distinct coloured class on the American pattern, lower than working class on the social ladder, and having inferior education and employment prospects.

It would appear that a small number of people have welcomed the presence of immigrant children in British schools. Trevor Burgin (1964) the headmaster of Spring Grove School in Huddersfield, which, because of its special English department, had all Huddersfield immigrant children channelled through it, wrote, "The impact and excitement of being a multi-racial school is invigorating as well as being highly infectious. We feel most strongly that all our children, English and non-English are most fortunate in growing up together in this spirit of affectionate, good-natured tolerance and acceptance of each other". Such points of view, however, have been expressed infrequently.

The increasing number of immigrants at school, on the other hand, has considerably increased the apprehension of the local population. Writing about New York Rose and Rothman (1964) noted "The turmoil begins when the ratio in the school reaches a certain 'tip point', a point at which the students (both white and Negro) feel that the school is about to become overwhelmingly Negro even though the actual percentage may be 25 to 30. It is then the fear of invasion supplants the idea of integration, and children (and their parents) begin to develop concern about the behaviour patterns which the newcomers bring with them". A similar tendency was reported in Britain in a publication by the British

Broadcasting Corporation(1964) publication 'Colour in Britain'. It quoted a correspondent of a Midland newspaper which emphasised the strain placed by immigrant children upon schools in many areas. "The chief cause of racial tension is not housing, personal habits or fear of 'cheap labour' but the nagging fear that children will be held back at school by immigrant children whose standards of literacy and intelligence are much lower". In his survey of Pakistanis in Bradford, Barr (1964) found a different picture from the one revealed in 'Colour in Britain'. Barr found that although there was a high proportion of immigrant children in some schools, there had been few complaints by English parents that their children's progress would be held back by the presence of a large number of non-English speaking children. Nor did he note a tendency among white parents to attempt to transfer their children to schools where the proportion of non-white children was low.

In a series of articles 'Reaction to Immigrants' published in the Times Education Supplement (September 1965) and based on interviews with a number of parents, headmasters, teachers and the like, it was obvious that the problem had aroused a widespread concern amongst the local population. The headmasters and headmistresses reported, however, that the people who complain about immigrant children the loudest have never bothered to find out how immigration has affected the school. This leads one to conclude that the general state of race relations in the community is strongly reflected in parental anxiety. A Birmingham headmaster

was quoted as saying "I walked into my local pub the other night and I was the only foreigner this side of the counter". In his view there was a colour bar in reverse in Birmingham. "Immigrants were getting away with many things including crime which the local population would not". Obviously he was airing his highly prejudiced views. Another pessimistic headmaster said "The first one comes and can be the cause of much interest, curiosity and even good humour. With just a few there is little difficulty with speech or behaviour. They soon conform. But with increased numbers the need to conform is lessened and an enclave is formed which has little or nothing to do with the main stream of the school".

There seems to be a general lack of awareness, even among the teachers of immigrant children, about the cultural, social and religious backgrounds of the newcomers. On being confronted with these children their first reaction is one of bewilderment. Brazier (1965) noted that embarrassing mistakes are sometimes made. For example, Jorowah Singh, a young Sikh boy not yet turbaned, was escorted from reception to toilets by helpful little girls, until, breathless, Ann dashed into the classroom and told the teacher "Please Miss, it ain't a girl".

Another headmaster is obviously puzzled and a little amused by the behaviour of young West Indians. "A few West Indians have no sense of urgency. After spending two years in ensuring that the street was clear at 8.55 I now have a small core of little coloured children who stroll, hand in hand, down the road, long after the

school has started. I know that in their hearts they are sorry for me. It is obviously beyond their comprehension that a full grown man should get so steamed up about five minutes when most of the day still remains". A useful piece of advice is given by another interviewee. "When immigrants come to our schools we must meet them with open minds and open hearts. This does not mean that we should not learn as much as we can about their way of life, their country and their backgrounds from reliable sources. The more we truly know about them will help us to be more sympathetic to their needs, provided we are aware that there is never a typical immigrant".

The reactions of immigrant children on arrival in this strange land are even harder to discern. What evidence is available is, with few exceptions, based on reports by teachers and others about what *they* think immigrant children feel. Edson (1966) who had dealings with a considerable number of immigrant children noted "The Asian immigrant child is usually quite unprepared for his uprooting, and his first reaction on arriving in this country is inevitably a feeling of shock and bewilderment. His eyes and ears are assailed by a welter of new sights and sounds, as well as experiencing the physical shocks of the rigours of an alien climate. Once in school he has to come to terms with yet another set of conditions, where differences will affect him more intimately, and where the mastering of a new language is only one of the problems he has to face". Burgin and Edson (1966) feel that school must be the least bewildering aspect of his new life. "When the Indian

and Pakistani children in their *sulwars* (pyjama-type trousers) tunics and flowing scarves of colourful silk cross the threshold into our grey school building, they seem to bring an Arabian Nights' atmosphere of colour and mystery. They bring too, experience of a culture so different from our own that their lessons within the classroom must be the least bewildering of their encounters with our way of life". Experience has shown, however, that even school may pose formidable problems for the immigrant child. The London Council of Social Sciences (1964) noted that immigrant children were expected to live in a large town although the majority come from rural areas. They were used to a different system of education, different teaching techniques, with no idea of using books and no encouragement to use their own initiative, so that when a teacher here told them to go and look something up for themselves they had no idea where to begin. Added to this, they were unused to regular attendances and were having domestic difficulties in settling down to life with their parents. In some case there were language difficulties also where the children came from islands where French patois was the primary language. Most writers seem to indicate that language and difficulties of communication are a major stumbling block in the way of successful adjustment of immigrant children. Discussing the teaching of English to immigrants Derrick (1966) noted "The pupils may fail to comply with school rules and codes of behaviour because they cannot be made to understand them, or because at some stage

they may seek to protect themselves by pretending not to understand them -----. Often immigrant pupils are blamed for making no progress in English when in fact they have not been given a true opportunity of learning it. Teachers who try and fail, find their pupils making no progress, can hardly be blamed either: we are often the worst teachers of our own mother-tongue simply because it is our mother-tongue. We learnt it and we do not know how we learnt it, and certainly we find it very hard to teach it successfully".

The Plowden Report (1967) has put the problem in a nutshell. The immigrant children "have often been abruptly uprooted, sometimes from a rural village community and introduced, may be after a bewildering air flight, into crowded substandard housing in an industrial borough. This happens to European immigrants from Cyprus, Italy or Eire, as well as to the Commonwealth immigrants from the West Indies, parts of Africa, India or Pakistan. When the immigrant is Hindu or Muslim, and has special religious or dietary customs, difficulties for both child and teacher increase greatly. The worst of all is that of language. Teachers cannot communicate with parents; parents are unable to ask questions to which they need to know the answers. It is sometimes impossible to find out even a child's age or medical history. Opportunities for misunderstanding multiply".

The problems are not confined to children who arrive from an alien land. There is some evidence that the problems of children of immigrant parents who were born and brought up in England may not be dissimilar.

In a large study of immigrants in Sparbrook Williams noted that "The process of growing up in this country presents even more complicated problems for the immigrant children. Not only are their parental standards despised either by the community as a whole or at least by their peer groups; their roles are frequently inapplicable in this country. Certain modifications, even if minimal, have therefore to be made by the parents. Either the role models offered by the white society may be unattainable through discrimination (for example the purchase of a single-family house in a better district), or the children may be prevented from following English models by parents who are not willing to allow their children to adopt completely alien patterns". (Rex and Moore, 1966).

The immigrant child is thus faced with two contradictory social and cultural patterns and is expected to adjust to both of them. Collins (1957) feels that until adolescence the home culture holds sway but with the approach of adolescence the child is increasingly influenced by the social and cultural values of the English society. Nevertheless, the immigrant child suffers from considerable insecurity, uncertainty and anxiety about his role. On the other hand "The Observer" (10th September 1967) published interviews with some immigrant adolescents and young adults. The interviewees seemed to reject the values and mores of a society which largely rejected them. It would appear that a good deal of uncertainty exists about the perception that immigrant children have of their social environment and only an objective research programme can supply the necessary information.

EDUCATION OF IMMIGRANT CHILDREN: ACTION

The Ministry of Education (1963) pamphlet No.43 *English for Immigrants* was the first official publication dealing with the 'immigration problem' in schools. The pamphlet gave some background knowledge of countries from which immigrants originate and discussed the methods and techniques of teaching English as a foreign language both to immigrant children and adults. It did not touch upon the social aspect of the problem. The Second Report of the Commonwealth Advisory Council (1964) recommended that teachers of immigrants should familiarise themselves with the cultural, and social backgrounds of these children and that they should also have knowledge about the different national, cultural and racial questions.

In the summer of 1963, English parents at Southall began to campaign for segregated education of immigrant children in the borough. They claimed that Asian children, who were 12.5% of the total school population, were getting a disproportionate amount of teachers' attention and the English children were being held back. Sir Edward Boyle, the then Minister of Education, rushed to the scene, and came out firmly against any proposals for segregation. A sub-committee was appointed and it was later announced that the load of immigrant children should in future be spread more evenly and that no school would have more than one third immigrant children. The Department of Education and Science Circular No.7 of 1965 later recommended this figure to be adopted nationally. One does not know how the magic figure of one third was arrived at, nor did the circular make any

distinction between immigrant children with language difficulties and immigrant children whose only difference from English children was the colour of their skin. Circular 7/65 analysed the social aspect of the 'immigrant problem' and arrived at a conclusion that "In the last resort it is the attitude of individuals that matters most; only if this is based on knowledge and understanding on both sides will it be possible to build one integrated society". It has been widely understood that the Circular 7/65 was issued more to allay British parents' fears than either to help the immigrant child or to assess the overall situation, in the country.

The Plowden Report (1967) devoted a chapter to the 'Children of Immigrants'. It recommended provision of additional facilities for training in teaching of English as a foreign language, research on development of suitable teaching techniques and teaching aids for immigrant children, and induction courses for immigrant teachers. It suggested that schools with a high proportion of immigrant children should be generously staffed and that dispersal of immigrant children if necessary, should be done on the basis of language and other difficulties.

The Hunt Report (1967) was the first official publication which gave some detailed statistics of immigrant children in British schools. It made a general survey of the social environment of coloured children and young adults in England and Wales. It supported the view that the 'immigrant problem' is primarily a question of attitudes and if England is to avoid racial

riots in future, the time to act is now. It noticed a reluctance in Britain to draw lessons from other countries on the grounds that "it couldn't happen here". The report strongly emphasised the urgent need for open discussion of the problem and to tackle the problems before they arise. Contrary to popular belief, the report found considerable evidence of racial discrimination against coloured youngsters. It concluded "We believe that prejudice against our coloured citizens, although not so strong at present, is fairly widespread and only thinly overlaid. We received evidence of antipathy against coloured youngsters among white youth in London, and we noted the signs of belligerence among second generation West Indians in the face of prejudice in Sparkbrook -------. The second and succeeding generation of coloured Britishers, fully educated in this country, will rightly expect to be accepted on equal terms, and to have the same opportunities as the rest of us. Within ten years there will be enough of them to make their voices heard. Will each one be accepted on his own intrinsic merits, as one of us? This is the crux of the matter".

The London Head Teachers Association (1965) studied the problem of immigrant children and made 37 recommendations. The Harringay Teachers Association (1966) set up a sub-committee to study the education of the immigrant child in Harringay which reported in 1966. Its eminently sensible suggestions included "the only hope of preparing them (immigrant children) for adult life, where they will undoubtedly encounter strong racial feeling and deeply-rooted prejudices, lies in

bringing all the matters concerned into the open in the secondary school, in private and class discussion and in all possible ways creating soundly based attitudes which it is hoped will provide the basis for weathering any future storms.

This appears to require at its foundation a belief in the truly multi-racial society, and this, in turn, involves the school in meeting without compromise the duty of educating all the children who present themselves for admission, without any attempt to control the percentage of particular racial groups.

If, as a result of this policy, difficulties such as backwardness, anti-social behaviour and a low standard of written or spoken English are encountered, these difficulties should be tackled by an increase of staff until the decreased size of classes enables appropriate progress to be made.

The particular difficulties should clearly be treated, not as a matter of race, or of immigrant behaviour, but as a purely technical educational problem".

The Birmingham Association of Schoolmasters (1967) set up a sub-committee to study the educational problems of immigrants. It recommended that immigrant children should be sent to a reception centre for the first few months, where they should be medically examined and given social training. No school should have more than 25% immigrant children and special salary arrangements should be made for schools with an 'immigrant problem'. The report prophesied that, unless something was done, in a few years time city centre immigrants will begin to agitate about the unfair

provision of educational facilities for their children.

The action taken by the local education authorities to combat the 'immigrant problem' has been discussed at length by Hawkes (1966) and Lee (1965). It could be classified into three categories,

(a) Dispersal
(b) Special English tuition
(c) Laissez Faire

DISPERSAL

Some local authorities, for example, Southall, and Bradford have adopted the policy of fixing a maximum limit on the proportion of immigrant children in its schools. If the proportion in the catchment area of a particular school rises beyond the prescribed maximum, some immigrant children are sent to other schools where the proportion is not so high. The system has the backing of the Circular 7/65 which recommended dispersal where immigrant children form more than 33% of the total school population. It has a further advantage that it prevents a school from becoming overwhelmingly immigrant and allows for the maximum 'rub off' effect of both language and social customs. The Plowden Report (1967) recommended the criteria used for dispersal should be linguistic and other difficulties and not irrelevant factors such as colour. The Circular 7/65 did not make any distinction between immigrant children with no special language or educational handicap and those with serious language and educational problems. For that matter, nor have the dispersal policies of Bradford and Southall. Apart from the wisdom of forcing young children to travel long distances, the policy in itself

is not sufficient. It should, at least be supplemented by special instruction in English. If the immigrant problem is primarily a question of attitudes, dispersal alone would prove to be ineffective. Furthermore, in the long run, this policy would result in not only immigrant children being moved out but white children being brought in. A much louder protest would be heard from middle class white parents if their children were moved from suburban middle class schools into city centre mainly working class and high immigrant schools. For example, in New York when the schools were integrated and children were sent to other neighbourhoods by buses, a strong protest was lodged by parents of white children. White children in increasing numbers were sent to private or parochial schools and there was a tendency for parents to move out to suburbs where no such policy was in operation (Times Educational Supplement 15th June, 1965). The policy of dispersal unless accompanied by other measures is unlikely to solve much.

SPECIAL TEACHING

Some authorities have made provision for special language teaching for immigrant children. This is done either through a withdrawal or a reception class within a school or a separate reception centre. Spring Grove School is perhaps the most widely discussed example of the usage of withdrawal and reception classes. All immigrant children in Huddersfield were channelled through this school. The children attended regular classes and were withdrawn from time to time to be given special coaching in English. The coaching was continued till the child was able to take his place in an

ordinary classroom without any difficulty. By 1961 the number of non-English speaking children had increased so much that a full-time reception class had to be organised. In this class children were taught English all the time and were sent back to normal classes as soon as their English was adequate. Children learn a language perhaps as much by mixing with other children and having to speak the language to other children as they do by formal education. Withdrawal has the advantage that it allows for the maximum 'rub off' effect. Moreover non-English speaking children still feel part of the social milieu of the school and take part in all non-linguistic school activities such as games, art, pottery or P.E. On the other hand, such classes are uneconomic of staff if the number of immigrant children in a school is small. Given a kind sympathetic and trained teacher, withdrawal classes could be very useful, but in wrong hands, they could prove to be more than useless. Even in the best of circumstances, a child will take longer to master the language in a withdrawal class than he would if he were taught English full-time, but given bad language teaching in a withdrawal class, the possibility is that he will learn the language very slowly indeed. Hawkes (1966) quotes an example where "a Greek Cypriot teacher was put in charge of a 'special English' class, which was mostly Greek, but partly Turkish. He apparently lapsed frequently into Greek; Turkish resentment was prevented from breaking out in an international incident only by the arrival in the class of two Mauritians, who exposed the situation!"

Reception classes have the advantage of some 'rub off' effect since they are part of a normal school. Since children learn English all the time, it could enable the child reasonably quickly to rejoin normal classes. There is a danger, however, that in prejudiced or incompetent hands these classes might become centres where immigrant children are allowed to get on more or less by themselves without learning of any kind.

Slough has organised reception centres for immigrant children through which all new arrivals are channelled. The children stay at the reception centre until they are ready to take their place in an ordinary classroom. The reception centre is economical of staff and equipment and could achieve results in a short space of time. However, with all immigrant children gathered at one place, the need for learning English is reduced and there is no 'rub off' effect. Since the immigrants tend to congregate in national clusters, the reception centres would have more in common with schools in India, Pakistan or West Indies than they would with English schools. The longer a child is left at a reception centre the more difficult it is for him to adjust socially to an English school. Segregated educational facilities for immigrant children is only a short step from the reception centre idea. In this connection it would be worth remembering the United States Supreme Court ruling that "Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal." It was noticed that on desegregation "when Negro pupils are first placed in competition with whites in high school or the upper elementary

grades, they are usually too far behind to catch up. If standards are not lowered to accommodate the poorly prepared Negro students, more fail than would have failed in all-Negro schools." (Broom & Glenn, 1965).

LAISSEZ FAIRE

Many authorities have taken no action of any kind on the implicit assumption that as long as immigrant children are treated on the same footing as English children, the problem would sort itself out. The policy is that it is not a question of developing integration as treating it as a *fait accompli* from the moment immigrant children set their foot in schools. Such a policy results in a large number of immigrant children being placed in bottom streams mainly because of their ability or inability in English. The Young Fabian (1965) Group's pamphlet *Strangers Within* has clearly pointed out this danger. "We believe that, if a full investigation were made many dark corners would be found in the national picture, where immigrant pupils are thrust unscrupulously into the remedial or ESN classes, left unattended at the back of ordinary classes of which they understand nothing, and may even develop a sort of 'deafness' to English which will be almost insuperable if tackled later." Tapper and Stoppes (1963) found, predictably, that about half the immigrants were in the fourth quartile at school. "The immigrant child cannot progress further in English than the English children with whom he is working. No doubt every place has its schools with an all-white A stream, and the C stream 50% chocolate coloured. If the English children in a C class so composed are not being

neglected the immigrant children are." (Robin 1965).

There is no evidence to suggest that apart from initial backwardness in English, the educational potential of an average immigrant child is any less than that of an English child. Indeed Goldman (1967) seems to think that since most immigrant parents have taken the initiative of emigrating to U.K. when they could, they are perhaps above-average in intelligence and motivation. Their children, given suitable measuring instruments, may well prove to be of above-average intelligence in the U.K.

CHAPTER 3

PREVIOUS RESEARCHES INTO EDUCATION AND SOCIAL RELATIONS OF IMMIGRANT CHILDREN

A limited amount of work has been done on the problems of adjustment, education and social relations of coloured and immigrant children in the United States. There are many differences, however, between the social climate and historical background of Britain and the United States. In the former, mass immigration is of recent origin, is mainly from the Commonwealth, the percentage of coloured immigrants is relatively small, and attitudes towards coloured citizens are comparatively fluid. In the United States, on the other hand, there is a long history of slavery, political and social discrimination. The ratio of coloured citizens is much higher and attitudes of prejudice are not only of long standing and hardened but are in some cases, supported by the state. Even Puerto Ricans on the East coast of America present a picture which is very different from the problems faced by any of the immigrant groups in Britain. Since review of the researches, studies and literature about educational problems and educational potential of coloured and immigrant children in the U.S.A. has recently been published by Goldman and Taylor (1966a) it is not proposed to discuss the American studies here.

An increasing number of writings on education and social relations of immigrant children in Britain have been published by educationists, sociologists and psychologists during the last ten years. Most of these

writings have been based on subjective evaluations but some could be described as studies of a descriptive or qualitative nature. Rigorously controlled experiments or surveys using adequate sampling techniques have virtually been non-existent.

Since it appears that language may be an important factor in the education of immigrants, the linguistic difficulties have quite naturally dominated the scene. Alleyne (1962) studied the effects of bilingualism on intelligence and attainment test scores in a London school. Bilinguals were found to be consistently and significantly inferior to monoglots on both intelligence and attainment tests. The discrepency was found to be greater on verbal than on non-verbal tests. Further analysis of the bilingual group showed that those born outside the British Isles were most seriously handicapped. Although these children showed least handicap on non-verbal tests, even these were not found to be suitable instruments for assessment of educational potential.

Goldman and Taylor (1966) classify the linguistic limitations of immigrant children into three categories

(a) Total language deficiency - children who speak and write a foreign language only. Their contact with English, prior to arrival in England is almost nil.

(b) Partial language deficiency - children who have limited command over spoken English but a language other than English is mostly spoken at home. The script of the child's mother-tongue is sometimes, but not always, based on the Roman alphabet.

(c) Dialect impediments - where the child's mother-tongue is English, but the English is spoken in a Creole dialect.

The Conference on Linguistic and Language Teaching in a Multiracial Society concluded "The dialect or Creole English is an immature language which is clearly inadequate for expressing the complexities of present-day life, for complete understanding of human motivation and behaviour." (Jones, 1965). It seems that partial understanding of the language is a greater handicap in learning standard English than a complete ignorance of it.

Craig (1963) compared the written English of Jamaican and English schoolchildren. One school from a relatively privileged neighbourhood and one school from a relatively deprived neighbourhood was selected in each country. He found that the English sample was superior to the Jamaican sample in its linguistic ability. The superiority of English schools was even more marked in those aspects of language which were closely associated with general ability.

Other studies have also been done on linguistic problems of immigrant children (Wallis, 1963; Baker, 1965; Cavage, 1965; Bell, 1966).

Saint (1963) analysed the educational problems of one hundred Indian boys in secondary schools. 76% of the boys studied had been living in England for less than two years and 49% less than one year. Only 40% could attempt the tests. Almost all the boys tested showed a lack of aural-oral skill in English, were retarded in Arithmetic and even more so in English.

The average I.Q. of the sample was 15 points below the national mean. Saint argues that this should not be taken as an evidence of inferior educational potential of these children since the tests employed were culture-biased. The study found interesting positive correlations between intelligence test scores and length of residence and schooling in England. Houghton (1966) found little difference between the mean intelligence test scores of Jamaican and English infants. Taken together these two studies show remarkable similarity to the results obtained in a study of canal boat children in England by Gordon (1923) and in Brazil by Weil. Gordon found that the scores of canal boat children on the Binet test were average up to the age of six. After this their mental age did not progress at an adequate rate. Six seems to be about the age at which the linguistic factor begin to be increasingly dominant in intelligence and attainment tests. If indeed immigrant children suffer from 'culture induced backwardness' they would be expected to have average intelligence scores up to the age of six and thereafter show a progressive decline.

There is a general belief amongst educationists in Britain that young children do not have any attitudes of prejudice, that given an opportunity to study together children, both black and white, will grow up to be tolerant adults. Williams (1966) in her study at Sparkbrook found that teachers generally saw their roles as socializing, anglicizing and integrating agents, by "putting over a certain set of values (Christian), code of behaviour (middle-class) and a set of academic

and job aspirations in which white-collar jobs have a higher prestige than manual, clean jobs higher than dirty (shop work is higher on the scale than the factory floor), and interesting, responsible jobs are higher than just 'good money' jobs" (Rex and Moore, 1967). The teachers expected immigrant children to conform to the *English* way of life and believed that present educational policies would achieve integration at school which would carry over to the adult life. Williams found that there was rarely any racial incident at school but when interviewed outside, children revealed a considerable degree of racial prejudice. She thinks that this is due to the development of a norm amongst children that the school is not a place to show one's feelings of racial antagonism.

The optimism of the teaching profession, that given racially mixed schools in which the percentage of immigrant children is not allowed to rise too high, the present educational policies would lead to racial harmony in future, has, unfortunately, not been supported by research evidence.

Kawwa (1963) studied ethnic attitudes of 777 secondary schoolchildren, mainly English, in London and Lowestoft. The school in London was multiracial in character while the one in Lowestoft had only English children. It was found that the London boys and girls showed a preference in their friendship choices for members of their own ethnic groups. A fair degree of prejudice was found among children in London. The schoolchildren in Lowestoft, a town with virtually no immigrants, were by comparison, far more tolerant of

coloured people and Cypriots.

Kawwa (1965) studied the interaction between immigrant and English children in a primary and a secondary school in London. Over 750 English, West Indian and Cypriot children were tested. The age range of the testees was 7-17. He found evidence of ethnic prejudice in children as young as seven. There was considerable hostility between the various ethnic groups, the group of coloured children being the most hostile. He found a group amongst immigrants which identified itself completely with the English, resulting in internalization of English values, including derogatory attitudes towards themselves, their colour and their race. He also found that most children fell somewhere between strongly prejudiced and neutral on a scale ranging from very tolerant through neutral to strongly prejudiced. Surprisingly enough, no difference in ethnic attitudes was found between children who chose coloured children as their friends and those who did not.

Pushkin (1967) tested 172 white and 10 Negro children aged 3 to 7 years in nursery schools in three areas of London. Two areas studied had a fairly high concentration of immigrants of comparative recent arrival while the third area had very few immigrants. Of the two high immigration concentration areas, one was described as 'exposed-tense' while the other as 'exposed-harmonious', relations between ethnic groups in the former area being tense and in the latter harmonious. The third area was described as 'unexposed'. Mothers of children involved in the study were also interviewed and

their ethnic attitudes assessed. The unfavourable ethnic attitude towards Negroes was found among children as young as five and increased in intensity with age. A low, insignificant but positive correlation was found between the ethnic attitudes of mothers and their children. However, mothers of children who showed a highly unfavourable attitude towards Negroes, had a very hostile attitude towards Negroes. Mothers in the 'exposed-harmonious' area were significantly less hostile than those in 'exposed-tension' area. No significant difference was found between the mothers in 'exposed-harmonious' and 'unexposed' areas. The attitude pattern among children was similar to that of their mothers.

Hubbard (1965) found that not only children as young as five or six are aware of differences in pigmentation of skin, they are also aware of some of the social disadvantages that follow from such pigmentation. No correlation was discovered in this study between children's prejudice and parental attitude towards childrearing or social attitudes. No relationship between sex, age, socio-economic class, or academic ability and prejudice was found. No significant difference in attitude was discovered in an all white as opposed to a mixed race school.

Akram (1964) studied moral judgments of Indian and Pakistani schoolchildren. Intelligence and social class was not found to be related to moral judgments. The length of stay in Britain, education of parents and authoritarianism at home were found to be significantly related to moral judgments.

CHART OF RELATED PREVIOUS STUDIES
MAIN FINDINGS

ALLEYNE (1962)

Bilinguals were found to be significantly inferior to monoglots on both intelligence and attainment tests.

CRAIG (1963)

English children were significantly superior to Jamaican children on linguistic ability, especially those aspects of linguistic ability which correlated highly with 'g'.

KAWWA (1963)

(a) Schoolchildren in high immigration area (London) showed preference for their own ethnic group in their friendship choices and were highly ethnocentric. (b) Schoolchildren in no immigration area (Lowestoft) were more tolerant towards West Indians and Cypriots.

SAINT (1963)

(a) I.Q. of immigrant children was found to be 15 points below the national mean. (b) Attainment of immigrant children was very poor. (c) I.Q. showed a positive correlation with the length of residence in the U.K.

AKRAM (1964)

(a) Intelligence and social class were not related to moral judgments of Pakistani immigrant children. (b) Length of residence in Britain, education of parents and authoritarianism were related to moral judgments of these children.

HUBBARD (1965)

(a) Children at the age of five and six were not only aware of the differences in the pigmentation of the skin, but also of the social disadvantages that follow from such pigmentation. (b) No relationship between prejudice and socio-economic class, sex, age, academic ability, and parents' social attitudes was discovered.

KAWWA (1965)

(a) Strong ethnocentric attitude was found among children as early as seven. (b) The degree of racial

hostility among schoolchildren was high, coloured children being the most hostile. (c) No difference between the ethnic attitudes of children who did and did not choose coloured children as their friends could be discovered.

HOUGHTON (1966)

Little difference was found between the mean I.Q. of English and Jamaican infants.

REX AND MOORE (1967)

Teachers expected immigrant children to conform to the English way of life and believed that the present educational policies would achieve integration at school which would carry over to the adult life. (b) A social norm was discovered among schoolchildren that school is not the place to show one's antagonism. Although there were no racial incidents at the school, children revealed a considerable degree of prejudice when interviewed outside.

PUSHKIN (1967)

(a) Unfavourable attitudes towards Negroes were found among children as young as five and increased in intensity with age. (b) Mothers in areas with harmonious race relations were significantly less hostile towards Negroes than mothers in areas where relations between the races were tense. (c) No significant differences were found between the attitude towards Negroes of mothers in areas with harmonious race relations and areas with no immigration.

THE NEED FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

From the above discussion, it is obvious that recent immigration from the tropical Commonwealth has produced profound changes in the social structure of contemporary Britain. In less than 20 years it has become a multi-racial society. The changes are felt, as dramatically as anywhere, in the classroom where teachers are presented with the problems of teaching children with vastly different social, cultural, religious, educational and linguistic backgrounds. A class of 13 year olds may well be composed of children from pre-industrial as well as highly industrial societies, children who speak no English, those who use English only at school, those who speak Creole English as well as those whose mother-tongue is English.

The situation is made more complex by the fact that the teachers, on the whole, were completely unprepared for the task. They were trained to teach *English* children. Little expert help is available to deal with the new situation. It is only in the three or four years that special courses for teachers of immigrant children have been run. So far these specially trained teachers have been far too few to deal with an increasingly chaotic and potentially explosive situation.

The literature in the field is growing rapidly. Yet almost all the material consists of personal experiences, hunches and conclusions based on them. Research in the field of education of immigrant children was practically non-existent until the middle

60's. Indeed, until that time the subject as an area of research was taboo with the education authorities. Any attempt to discover facts was interpreted as an attempt to 'stir things up' in an otherwise calm atmosphere. Every effort was made to minimize difficulties or even to plead 'no problems', in case the very admission of their existence might suggest intolerance. 'Hard research' even to-date, can be counted on the fingers of one hand.

It is with this in mind that an attempt is made here to study the correlates of socio-personal adjustment of two groups of immigrant children in a London school. It is believed that it may have considerable generality, but obviously confirmatory studies will need to be made which take up the points of interest in what is believed to be a pioneering effort.

CHAPTER 4

THE EXPERIMENTAL DESIGN

THE AIMS

The aims of the study were twofold. Firstly it was intended to compare the pattern of adjustment of immigrant children with that of their English counterparts in order to discover the differences between the adjustment of the two groups, and the differences between the adjustment patterns of various immigrant sub-groups, if any. Secondly, it was hoped to study the relationship between various factors in the personal make-up of immigrant children and their home-background with their socio-personal adjustment in English schools.

RESEARCH VENUE

The research was conducted at a secondary modern mixed school in North London.

PILOT WORK

As discussed in the last chapter, there is an almost total lack of research evidence on the subject under study in Britain and it was realised at the outset that in many ways this study would be exploratory in nature.

As a first step, the investigator, an Indian by nationality, made himself thoroughly familiar with the four main immigrant groups in England, viz, West Indians, Indians, Pakistanis and Cypriots. A large number of pubs, clubs and places of religious worship frequented by the various immigrant groups were visited. Usually the investigator was accompanied to these places by

friends, some of whom were members of these clubs or religious bodies, and was introduced to various people as a fellow immigrant. Acceptance was easily and quickly achieved, especially when it was known that the investigator was an educated person and a school-teacher. An exchange of information about life in Britain almost invariably followed on subsequent visits. For fear of putting people on their guard, no notes were taken on the spot, nor was it mentioned that the investigator was engaged in a study concerning immigrants. Frequent visits to such places where the investigator talked to a large number of immigrants provided the background information.

Evidence from America and contact with immigrants in this country has shown quite clearly that no valid research on race relations using non-disguised techniques could be carried out unless a strong rapport is established with the subjects. In common with other minority groups the immigrants tend to be very touchy about race relations and would only reveal their true feelings to a person they believed they could trust. The Political and Economic Planning (1967) survey has cited considerable evidence to the effect that immigrants are not alone in this attitude. It noticed considerable hesitation both on the parts of immigrants and the English people to talk openly about race relations. It was therefore evident that establishing a strong rapport was the *a priori* condition for any research involving immigrant children. With this in view, the investigator applied for and was accepted for a teaching post in a North London

Secondary Modern Mixed School with a fairly high proportion of immigrant children.

No good teaching is possible unless the teacher has established good social relations with his pupils. Rapport with both immigrant and English children was established as a routine part of normal teaching duties. Every opportunity to share games, sports and extra-curricular activities was taken and every effort was made to gain pupils' confidence.

No attempt was made to conduct any formal testing or interviews until the investigator established himself as a teacher and was seen to be fully accepted by pupils as a part and parcel of the school set up. It was important that he should be perceived and categorised primarily as a *teacher* and not as *a member of a particular racial group*. After about five terms at school it was evident that the investigator had become 'colourless' and was being perceived by the pupils as *just another teacher*. For example, on three occasions during lessons on 'human sexual reproduction' questions were asked by the girls whether they should go out with a coloured boy; and by the boys that "Does marrying a coloured girl lead to sub-normal children being born?" As a part of normal teaching duties, the investigator encouraged pupils to bring their views about race relations into the open and to discuss them amongst themselves, with him or with other teachers. Only when sincere enquiries about other races, including some quite derogatory remarks about the investigator's own race, were being made and frankly discussed it was felt that the investigator was becoming 'colourless'.

The importance of rapport was later revealed when during the interview, the pupils, especially the immigrant pupils, asked again and again as to why they were being asked these personal questions and whether they 'had to answer'. They were told that a study was being made to discover if pupils in this school were facing any special difficulty and to find out what children did after school in their spare time. It was made clear that they would not be forced to answer any question they did not wish to answer and they could opt out of the testing and interview if they wished. However, if they did participate in the testing programme it would help the investigator and probably other children as well. Many wanted to know if the results would be seen by the headmaster or any other members of the staff. It was then pointed out that teachers would not be shown the answer-sheets, that results would be analysed by an electronic computer, and in any case no one could connect any particular child with any answer-sheet. The explanation seemed to satisfy most pupils. Only three English children out of a total of about 600 pupils investigated refused to participate. No refusal was received from any immigrant pupil.

SCHOOL

The London Secondary Modern Mixed School which was the venue for the research had a total number of pupils on the roll of just over 700. The area had a large number of light industries but no heavy industry. Most of the leavers from the school worked in

local industry. The area could be described as having a substantial though not very large proportion of immigrants and could be considered as fairly typical of the areas where immigrants tend to settle. Relations between various ethnic groups were not relaxed though no racial incidents had been reported.

The build-up of immigrant children at school had been on the scale and pattern found in most high immigration areas. The school was first opened in 1956 when it had no immigrants on the roll. In 1962, it had about 10% immigrant children and when in 1967 it was reorganised into a comprehensive school, the proportion of immigrant children had risen to as high as 40%.

Immigrant children at the school were mainly West Indian and Cypriot in origin with a few other nationalities. Cypriots were mainly Greek but a few were Turkish. West Indian children were drawn from all parts of the catchment area of the school while Cypriot children were recruited mainly from one section of it. Until 1958 the school had no Cypriot children when one Cypriot boy was transferred from another school through lack of facilities for advanced work at that school. The boy passed his examination, word went round the Cypriot community, and other Cypriot children soon followed. Gradually this school became the regular first choice of the Cypriot community in the area. On the whole, Cypriot children had to come by bus or walk quite a distance to school while the West Indians lived in the streets around.

The Head teacher had been at the school since it was first formed in 1956 and could be described as

having very liberal and tolerant views. He was very aware of, and sympathetic towards, the problems of immigrant children and went out of his way to help them. He had a keen awareness of, and an intelligent interest in, educational problems generally, and frequently contributed to educational journals, lectured to various organisations on educational policy, and was a leading member of one of the large teachers' organisations.

The attitude of staff towards immigrant children may be described as fairly typical of a cross-section of the teaching profession as a whole. A few were prejudiced and were ready to ascribe all the evils of the school to immigrant children. "The things were fine till *they* came". They could see little good in immigrant pupils and regarded them as obstructive, undisciplined, destructive and generally a nuisance at school. On the other hand, a few members of the staff were very tolerant of, and took great pains in helping immigrant children, sometimes spending several hours after school in doing so. The remaining members of the staff had various shades of opinion between these two extremes. The school in recent years always had a few immigrant teachers on its staff. Out of a total staff of about forty, the number of immigrant teachers, including temporary teachers, had risen to seven at one stage, but four was the more usual number. Of the five immigrant teachers at the time of the survey, two were West Indian and three Indians. The West Indian teachers in the past, with a single exception, had failed to make effective

contact with either the English or the West Indian children and had not been successful teachers. The failure rate of Indian teachers at the school had also been very high but the headmaster claimed that of the immigrant teachers, those from the Indian sub-continent had proved to be the most successful. The problem of race relations was rarely discussed in the staff-room. None of the teachers admitted having an unfavourable attitude towards immigrant children. No objection to carrying out the present research was raised by any member of the staff on the grounds that it might aggravate tensions. In fact the survey did not encounter any opposition from either staff, pupils or parents.

The school was organised into four 'houses', each of which was further sub-divided into eight 'registration groups'. Each 'registration group' had children of the entire age-range and was the administrative unit in place of the more usual one-age form. The school was run neither along 'free discipline' lines nor on an authoritarian model. In discipline matters it was fairly typical of the schools in the borough. The headmaster and some senior members of the staff were allowed to use the cane though it was employed infrequently and only as a last resort. A school detention was organised every week for persistent late arrivals.

An Indian teacher, whose standard of spoken English was excellent, was employed at the school to give immigrant children special coaching in English where necessary. The coaching was done on the

'withdrawal' basis, the children being withdrawn from normal classes for part of the day for language instruction.

No complaints about immigrant children were received by the headmaster from English parents nor did any of the parents threaten to withdraw the children on the grounds that immigrant children were holding them back. The only exception to this were two English families, both of whom were openly Fascist in their political beliefs. There were some complaints by the householders in the neighbourhood of the school about the children's behaviour, but such complaints were directed against both immigrant and English children alike. The park-keeper of a nearby park once complained to the headmaster that he was getting very worried about gangs of coloured youths who roamed in the park in the evenings bent upon destruction. There was no indication, however, that these youths were from the school. Some immigrant parents were on the committee of the parent-teacher association and relations between these and the English parents on that body were described as 'cordial'.

Pupils were streamed in each year at school according to their ability. Thus there were six streams in the first three years which may be labelled for the purpose of discussion as A to F, with A being the brightest stream and F the remedial form. In the fourth year all those pupils who expressed a wish to stay on at school till the end of their fifth year and were thought capable of benefiting by the extended courses, were put in one form while others were

classified into four streams according to ability. No streaming was done in the fifth and the sixth year.

Tables 4.1 and 4.2 show the distribution of immigrant children at the school. The survey was conducted towards the end of Summer term and the beginning of Autumn term, 1966. By the autumn term a fresh intake of first year children had been enrolled at the school. Thus two successive groups of first year children participated in the testing programme. This accounts for the unusually large number of immigrant children shown in the 11-12 years age range. The two first years were grouped together.

TABLE 4.1

DISTRIBUTION OF IMMIGRANT CHILDREN AT THE SCHOOL BY STREAMS

Year	STREAMS						Total
	A	B	C	D	E	F	
1	5	13	13	15	22	24	92
2	6	7	7	6	11	13	50
3	3	3	9	8	8	14	45
4			3	3	8	13	27
TOTAL	14	23	32	32	49	64	214

NOTE: Since 4th year extended course, 5th and 6th year pupils were not divided by ability rating, they are not included in this table.

A perusal of tables 4.1 and 4.2 would show that 113 out of 214 immigrant children (52.8%) classified into streams by ability, were in the last third section of the school. This is fairly typical of the situation throughout the country.

TABLE 4.2

DISTRIBUTION OF IMMIGRANT CHILDREN AT THE SCHOOL BY AGE AND ABILITY LEVEL

YEAR & STREAM	AGE	WEST INDIAN		CYPRIOTS		OTHERS		TOTAL	
		Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
1A	11 - 12	3	-	-	2	-	-	3	2
1B	11 - 12	3	6	1	2	1	-	5	8
1C	11 - 12	5	4	2	2	-	-	7	6
1D	11 - 12	5	7	1	2	-	-	6	9
1E	11 - 12	5	9	4	4	-	-	9	13
1F	11 - 12	6	5	6	7	-	-	12	12
2A	12 - 13	-	1	2	2	1	-	3	3
2B	12 - 13	1	3	1	2	-	-	2	5
2C	12 - 13	1	3	1	2	-	-	2	5
2D	12 - 13	4	2	-	-	-	-	4	2
2E	12 - 13	4	4	1	2	-	-	5	6
2F	12 - 13	6	5	1	1	-	-	7	6
3A	13 - 14	1	-	1	-	1	-	3	-
3B	13 - 14	2	1	-	-	-	-	2	1
3C	13 - 14	6	3	-	-	-	-	6	3
3D	13 - 14	2	2	3	1	-	-	5	3
3E	13 - 14	6	2	-	-	-	-	6	2
3F	13 - 14	4	4	3	2	-	1	7	7
4th (Extended course)	14 - 15	7	8	1	2	-	-	8	10
4A	14 - 15	2	1	-	-	-	-	2	1
4B	14 - 15	-	-	3	-	-	-	3	-
4C	14 - 15	6	2	-	-	-	-	6	2
4D	14 - 15	4	4	3	2	-	-	7	6
5th and 6th	15+	7	8	6	4	1	1	14	13
	TOTAL	90	84	40	39	4	2	134	125

THE SAMPLE

The sample consisted of all West Indian and Cypriot children at school. Two Cypriot boys and one girl could not understand any English and could not be tested. The number of other immigrant groups at the school was small, therefore they were not included in the study. A random selection of 100 of each sex of English children who were also at the same school was chosen as the control group. Each English boy and girl at the school was given a code number. Selection was then made by reference to the random numbers table of the Lindley and Miller (1961) Cambridge Elementary Statistical Tables.

In the first place Indian and Pakistani children were not included in this study because there were few children from the Indian sub-continent at the school. The cultural background, mother-tongue and social relations of Indian and Pakistani communities in Britain are different from the West Indian and the Cypriot communities. It is realised that Indian and Pakistani children form the second largest ethnic group of immigrant children in British schools, but generalisations from groups of one type of racial composition to another may be hazardous in any case and such tentative conclusions as may be drawn from groups of English, West Indians and Cypriots may not be applicable to groups with different racial composition and groups which are more heterogeneous. Replications of the research on groups including Indian and Pakistani children, and groups which are more heterogeneous in composition are, therefore,

necessary before findings could be said to apply to all immigrant groups.

Secondly, since the sample was drawn from one school only, the conclusions should not be generalised to apply to the entire immigrant population of British schools or indeed to the population of London or any other 'population' that could be specified. It would be difficult to say how far the results reflected the general pattern of adjustment of immigrant children throughout the country and how far they were specific to the social relations, organisational set-up, and educational climate at the school where the study was conducted. Although the school was fairly typical of the schools attended by a large majority of immigrant children, no pretence could be made that the sample was in any way representative of the national population. The question of norms could only be answered by studying a representative sample of immigrant children throughout the country. It is hoped that the present investigation will arrive at some tentative conclusions to help pave the way for a national study later, which can be planned more economically and effectively in the light of the findings of an exploratory study. Such a pilot study should reveal background variables on which a national sample should be stratified, and indeed, clarify our knowledge of criterion variables related to adjustment worthy of study. A pilot study reveals affecting background variables by establishing correlations between them and the criterion. Unfortunately some objections to statistical inference may apply even

when trying to establish such relationships in a study of a single school. However, the statistical magnitude of such relationships is less important in designing new experiments than some knowledge that they must be taken account of, and if the study on a limited sample suggests relationships which are fortuitous, the only effect of allowing for them in future investigations would result in control for an unimportant variable and would not vitiate the results.

In support of a conjecture that some generalisations may be justified it should be mentioned that the locality where the study was conducted was not dissimilar to a very large majority of urban areas where immigrants have settled. The school could also be regarded as typical, in so far as any school could be regarded as typical, of schools where a very large proportion of West Indian and Cypriot children are being educated.

It appears, then, that although the conclusions of the present study could only be tentative and suggestive, such study, nevertheless, would produce fruitful results and ideas for further research.

The next problem was to select the variables that appeared worthy of investigation for their correlation with 'adjustment', and formulation of hypotheses to be tested. The selection of variables would have been an easy task if a theoretical model of children's adjustment to an alien culture was available. Unfortunately no such model has, yet, been suggested. Some may argue that in a field which has

an extreme lack of hard 'facts', before constructing a theoretical model and testing hypotheses based on that model, it would be advisable for a social scientist to collect 'facts'. In this context, it would be worthwhile to remember Charles Darwin's famous dictum. "How odd it is that anyone should not see that all observations must be for or against some view, if it is to be of any service". Facts are relevant only in so far as they are interconnected with other facts as part of a coherent theory. The purpose of observation is to relate facts in a meaningful way from which could flow generalizations and predictions. Research is an "activity aimed at increasing our power to understand, predict and control events of a given kind. ----- We would understand an event by relating it logically to others". (Gage, 1963). Observations lead to formulation of laws. A law is a formalised rule which expresses regularity of behaviour. No prediction and hence control, is possible without such laws or generalizations. The notion that a survey may simply be a method for collection of facts for scientific enquiry is clearly untenable. Gage (1963) has put the position very forcefully. "All men ----- are theorists. They differ not in whether they use theory, but in the degree to which they are aware of the theory they use. The choice before the man in the street and research worker alike is not whether to theorize but whether to articulate his theory, to make it explicit, to get out in the open where he can examine it". Skinner deplores such an insistence on theory in the study

of the relatively young science of psychology. He thinks that experimental design and statistical analyses, which must inevitably be required for testing hypotheses, are positive stumbling blocks in the path of progress. "But it is time to insist that science does not progress by carefully designed 'experiments' each of which has a well-defined beginning and end. Science is a continuous and often a disorderly and accidental process. We shall not do the young psychologist any favour if we agree to reconstruct our practices to fit the pattern demanded by current scientific methodology. What the statistician means by the design of experiments is the design which yields the kind of data to which *his* techniques are applicable. He does not mean the behaviour of the scientist in his laboratory devising research for his own immediate and possibly inscrutable purpose" (Skinner, 1956). He thinks that since we know so little about human behaviour, and therefore little about how a scientist hits at the right solution, excessive formalisation of research technique and utilization of experimental design is, to say the least, premature. "If we are interested in perpetuating the practices responsible for the present corpus of scientific knowledge, we must keep in mind that some very important parts of the scientific process do not now lend themselves to mathematical, logical, or any other formal treatment. We do not know enough about human behaviour to know how the scientist does what he does. Although statisticians and methodologists may seem to tell us, or at least

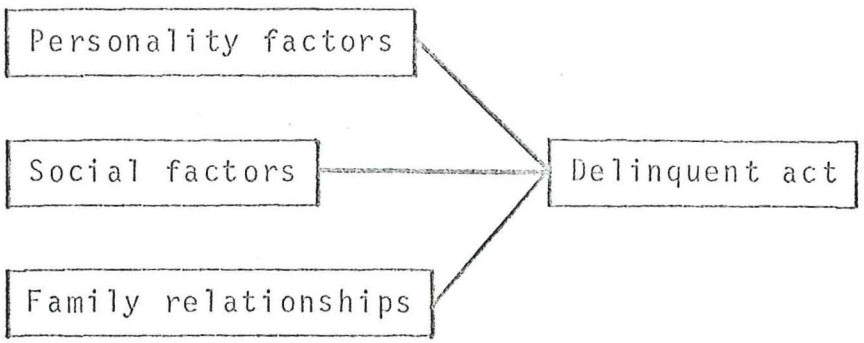
imply, how the mind works - how problems arise, how hypotheses are formed, deductions made, and crucial experiments designed - we as psychologists are in a position to remind them that they do not have methods appropriate to empirical observation or the functional analysis of such data. These are aspects of human behaviour, and no one knows better than we how little can at the moment be said about them". (Skinner, 1956).

Skinner goes on to say how he stumbled upon his most important discoveries through sheer chance of his apparatus breaking down! But surely, this is an argument not against experimental design per se but in favour of keeping one's eyes open for unexpected as well as expected results and irregularities in observed phenomena. The fact that Skinner chooses to observe certain variables at the cost of others, that he manipulates certain aspects of the environment rather than others, that he employs certain apparatus, must mean that he does have a set of hypotheses, however ill-defined or unverbalised, at the back of his mind before he conducts *any* of his experiments. T.H. Huxley (1931) has reminded us that without a corresponding theoretical framework a collection of facts do not contribute towards scientific advance. A hypothesis, however tentative, must form the basis of an experiment. "Those who refuse to go beyond facts rarely get as far as fact. ---- Almost every great step (in the history of science) has been made by the 'anticipation of nature' that is, by the invention of hypothesis which, though verifiable,

often had very little foundation to start with".

Theories, even micro theories, cover a relatively large aspect of behaviour and, in most cases, represent a life-time's work. A research worker exploring a relatively unchartered territory is unlikely to possess a theory which will help him in designing his experiments. He has to carry out many exploratory studies before even the rudiments of a theory begin to appear. This is not in contradiction to what has been said so far. Absence of a theory does not imply absence of conceptual framework, schemata, a model or a paradigm.

Paradigms are graphical representations of expected relationships between variables. The paradigm of juvenile delinquency, for example, may be represented as follows:-



Paradigms are not theories but they may develop into theories. They derive their usefulness from their explicitness. They help research workers to clarify their conceptual framework of the project in hand and allow him to attack the problem in parts. Many research workers would deny the usefulness of paradigms in a relatively unexplored field such as the education

of immigrants. However, the very fact that one chooses a research strategy, and studies certain variables clearly indicates that one has an implicit if not an explicit paradigm. Conducting research without a paradigm thus becomes a logical absurdity. Given that a paradigm is essential for research, there is no possible justification for keeping it implicit. There is no virtue in ignorance. The variables in a paradigm may be chosen through logical deductions, empirical findings, or simply through personal hunches. The variables may be chosen just because one expects, intuitively, to find a positive or negative correlation between them.

In the present study in addition to the experience gained in the pilot work, it was thought desirable to conduct a survey of the opinion of the teachers of immigrant children in an attempt to develop a paradigm of 'adjustment' of immigrant children. The following letter was sent to 100 teachers in secondary schools with a substantial proportion of immigrant children.

No attempt was made at any systematic sampling of teachers. Since the object of this pilot survey was simply to pool the experience of some of the teachers of immigrant children, systematic sampling techniques were considered unnecessary. No claim is made here that the results of the pilot survey reflect the opinions of teachers in general. The list of the teachers to be contacted was compiled through a channel of formal and informal contacts, at the school, teachers organizations, and the Institute of

Education, University of London. The letter was sent by post. 56 of the 100 teachers contacted replied. Their replies are classified in table 4.3

Dear Sir,

The number of immigrant children in British schools has increased rapidly during the last few years. Some of these children have failed to settle down at school and have caused considerable difficulties while some have adjusted rapidly and successfully, I have undertaken a study to discover the patterns of adjustment of immigrant children. Since you possess considerable experience of dealing with these children, I am appealing to you for help. I would be grateful if you would please send me a list of factors (such as intelligence, ability in spoken English and the like), which in your opinion are conducive to adjustment or maladjustment of these children. The list may be as long or as short as you like.

Your co-operation would be very much appreciated. A stamped-addressed envelope is enclosed for your reply.

Yours faithfully,

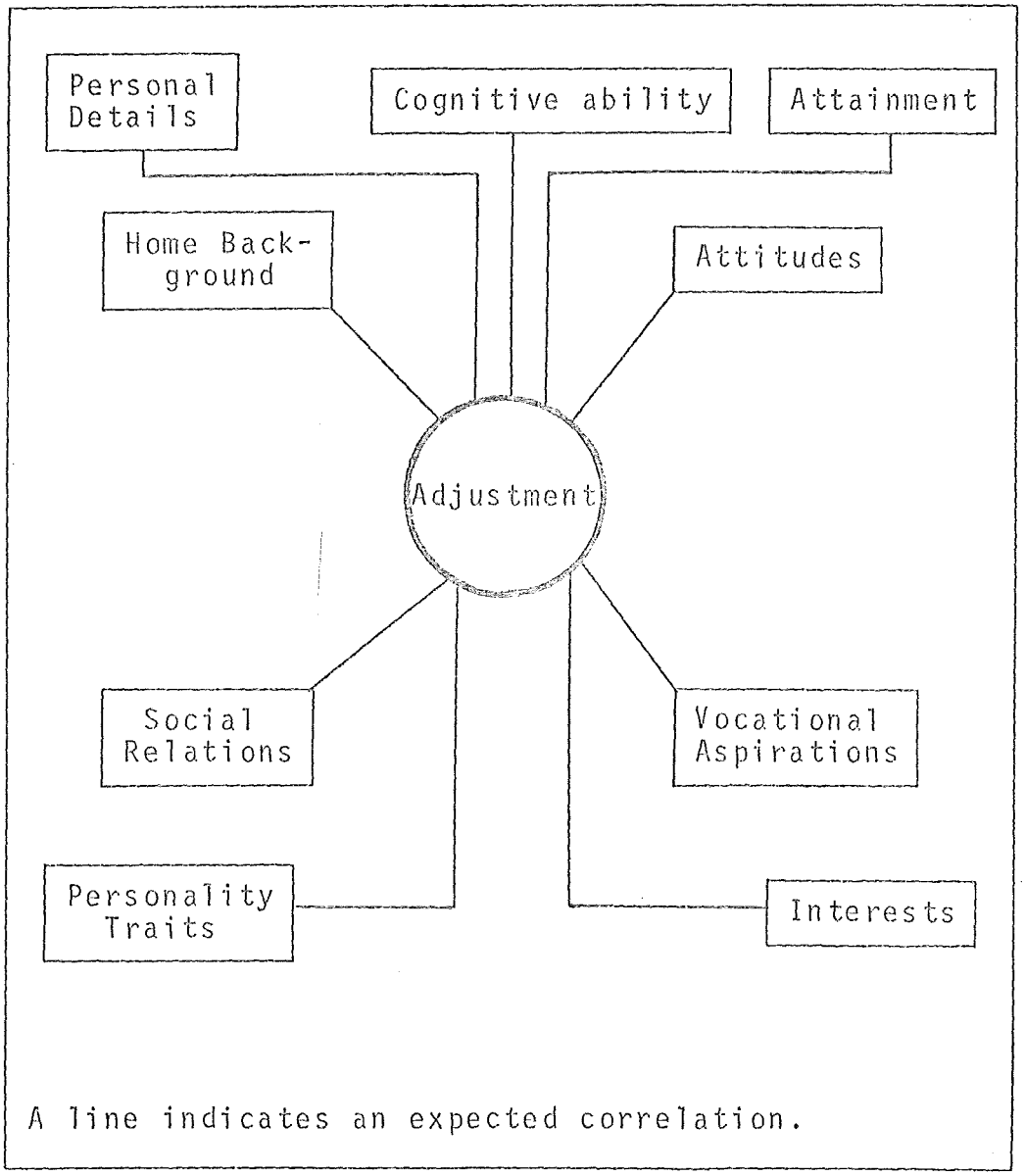
J. K. BHATNAGAR

TABLE 4.3

ANALYSIS OF TEACHERS' REPLIES ABOUT THE CORRELATES OF IMMIGRANT CHILDRENS' ADJUSTMENT

FACTOR:	N	%
Command over spoken English	52	92.9
Skin Colour	43	76.8
Social relations with white children	41	73.2
Socio-economic class	38	67.9
Achievement at school	32	57.1
Attitude towards school	32	57.1
Length of residence in Britain	32	57.1
Attitude towards integration	31	55.4
Extraversion	30	53.6
Degree of recognizability as a foreigner	29	51.8
Age of immigration to Britain	27	48.2
Intelligence	27	48.2
Attitude towards Authority	27	48.2
Family size	25	44.6
'Chip on the shoulder'	21	37.5
Interests	19	33.9
Family relationships	18	32.1
Intention of returning home	14	25.0
Social relations of parents	12	21.4
Language normally spoken at home	12	21.4
Vocational aspirations	10	17.9
Parental attitude towards English culture	6	10.7
Parental attitude towards Education	6	10.7
Hobbies	5	8.9
Religion	4	7.1
Presence of both parents	3	5.4
Nature of housing	3	5.4
Out of school activities	1	1.8
District where the child lives	1	1.8
Whether parents are married	1	1.8

The following paradigm was thus suggested.



A line indicates an expected correlation.

Since the main purpose of the study is to investigate correlates of adjustment of immigrant children, the intercorrelations between the variables have been ignored for the purpose of the paradigm.

For the purpose of this investigation, 'adjustment' is being treated as the consequent variable

while all others an antecedent variables. The words "for the purpose of this investigation" in the last sentence need stressing. Although the teachers were obviously regarding 'adjustment' as a consequent variable, social scientists are aware of the extreme caution that must be exercised before claiming to establish any causal connection between two variables. Before it could be claimed that A causes B, it would be essential to establish that the occurrence of A is *always* followed by the occurrence of B. The temporal sequence is of prime importance. The antecedent variable must occur prior in time to the consequent variable. If this study were to establish any causal connections, it would be necessary to demonstrate that the change in an antecedent variable is followed by a change in the consequent variable, 'adjustment'. A cross-sectional study, like the present one, could at best, discover the relationship between the main variable under study, 'adjustment', and various other variables. Correlations do not establish causal links. A significant positive correlation between A and B, for example, simply means that if an individual scores high on variable A, he is also likely to score high on B. It does not signify that either A causes B or that B causes A. Causal links could only be established through longitudinal studies.

Bearing the above qualification in mind, there is no harm in treating 'adjustment' as a consequent variable *for the purpose of this study*. Since the main objective of the investigation is to find out how

'adjustment' of immigrant children is related to the various personality and environmental variables, there is no alternative but to treat 'adjustment' as a consequent variable for some computational purposes. The obtained correlations, however, would simply show the relationship of 'adjustment' to other variables under study and not, what *determines* 'adjustment'.

The paradigm outlined earlier could be tested either through statistical or clinical techniques. The former would have required a survey employing standardised measuring instruments while the latter a case history approach. The relative advantages and disadvantages of the two methods of analysis could be found in any standard text-book of Social Research and need not be discussed here. However, in an exploratory study like the present one, there are obvious advantages in both methods of analysis. Statistical techniques would be useful in rigorously testing hypotheses derived from the paradigm but case history method could be employed to gain fresh insights and to develop new hypotheses about the problem which could later be tested by statistical techniques. Since there were unequal numbers of subjects in each of the national groups tested, the interaction effects of the antecedent variables could not be computed by employing analysis of variance technique. It was hoped that the case histories might show such interaction effects. It was, therefore decided to test the paradigm using statistical tools of analysis and also to record

the case histories of five most well-adjusted and least well-adjusted West Indian and Cypriot children each.

It may be claimed that any form of standardised assessment technique is culture-biased and the results obtained with one ethnic group are not comparable with another. The findings of the study may be influenced by the differential effects of the test situation upon the performance of the different ethnic groups. Although little research is available to throw light on the subject, the present investigation was done on the assumption that the testing techniques will not have any *systematic* effect upon the responses of children of different cultural groups in English schools. The matter is obviously important for the validity of any results that may be obtained and would be discussed again in chapter 7 when the measuring instruments have been selected.

On the basis of the teachers' survey, the pilot work, the perusal of literature, and the paradigm, the following variables were selected for the study of their relationship with the 'adjustment' of immigrant children. These could be regarded as socio-cultural, cognitive, dispositional and background variables.

ABILITY AND ATTAINMENT

Academic achievement at school

Non-academic achievement at school

Fluency of spoken English

Intelligence test scores

Attainment in written English

Vocabulary
SOCIAL RELATIONS
Social relations at school
Social relations at home
INTERESTS AND ATTITUDES
Interests
Attitude towards school
HOME BACKGROUND
Socio-economic class
Size of the family
Language normally spoken at home
Presence or absence of one or both parents
Nature of housing
Intention of returning to home country
Mother working
PERSONAL PARTICULARS
Age
Religion
Age at the time of emigration
Length of residence in the U.K.
Vocational aspirations
Vocational expectations
Out of school activities

Since considerable uncertainty exists about the definition of some of the variables selected for study here, it is proposed to enquire into the psychological nature of the controversial variables in the next two chapters so that the hypotheses to be examined in this study could be formulated.

CHAPTER 5

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL NATURE OF THE VARIABLES UNDER STUDY I: ADJUSTMENT

Practically every text-book on Psychology uses the phrase "well-adjusted personality", yet attempts to define the term have been the exception rather than the rule. The 1944 Education Act, for example, accepted 'maladjustment' as a form of handicap requiring special attention and treatment. Yet the Ministry of Education rules define maladjusted pupils as those who "require special educational treatment in order to effect their personal, social or educational readjustment". Defining a maladjusted pupil as the 'one who requires readjustment' is a circular definition and hardly a satisfactory explanation. In fact, it explains nothing. In view of the considerable uncertainty in the meanings assigned to the term, perhaps it may be fruitful to look into the origins of the term.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

The term 'adjustment' originated in Mechanics implying 'harmonious arrangement' of the parts to the whole and to each other in the sense of adjusting the sparking plug or the spanner. During the late nineteenth century, with the increased emphasis on a mechanistic conception of life, the term was borrowed by Biology. General acceptance of the theory of evolution with its emphasis on the 'survival of the fittest' encouraged many to argue that

man's superiority over other animals is solely due to his greater capacity for adjustment to the environment. Extension of this principle to explain the inter-racial differences was the next logical step. In 1891 Mivart (1891) was writing - "Of all races of men they are the mightiest and most noble who are, or by self-adjustment can become, most fit for all the new conditions of existence in which by various changes they may be placed".

The term was adopted by psychologists from biological literature. Herbert Spencer (1870) in his *Principles of Psychology* proposed that "mental life consists in continued *adjustment* of inner processes to outer processes". Sully (1890) a contemporary of Herbert Spencer, views adjustment in much the same light. "Mental development" he says "may be viewed as a progressive adjustment of the individual organism to its environment ----. It is only as such adjustment is effected that the conditions of stable life are realized".

Watson uses 'adjustment' in many of his writings, almost entirely in relation to kinaesthetic motor responses such as muscular adjustments while we walk, and breathe. In his writings 'adjustments' 'responses' and 'reaction' are employed almost interchangeably.

ADJUSTMENT AS ADAPTATION TO ENVIRONMENT

Like biologists, psychologists, at first, viewed 'adjustment' in terms of passive attempts by the individual to adapt himself to the environment. The unique capacity of man for not just passively trying to adapt himself to the environment, but actively

changing the environment to suit himself, was almost totally ignored. The point is ably raised by Briggs and Hunt (1962). They argue that adjustment is not merely passive adaptation to environment, it must also include reshaping the environment to suit the individual. It is, in fact, a two way process. The individual engages in the active reordering of the environment, the environment is reshaped, but in the process the individual also undergoes modification. Thus according to this view an adjusted immigrant child will be the one who has not merely uncritically accepted the limitations imposed by his new environment, but has also successfully engaged in the process of reshaping his new environment to take account of *his* abilities, interests and values.

Allport (1949) supports the above proposition. "Adjustment must not be considered as merely reactive adaptation such as plants and animals are capable of. The adjustment of men contains a great amount of spontaneous, creative behaviour towards the environment. Adjustment to the physical world, as well as to the imagined or the ideal world, both being factors in 'behavioural environment' envolving *mastery* as well as passive adaptation".

'Adjustment' has also been regarded as the ability to deal effectively with the physical and social environment. In a study, the cooperative, happy person who seemed to be dealing effectively with his environment was counted well adjusted; the uncooperative, discontented, disorderly, estranged person or one who seemed to be unable either to alter his

environment or to adapt himself to it was counted maladjusted (Kievet, 1965). Crow equates 'adjustment' with harmonious relation with the environment. "An individual's adjustment is adequate, wholesome or healthful to the extent that he has established a harmonious relationship between himself and the condition, situations and persons who comprise his physical and social environment" (Crow and Crow, 1956). Gould and William (1964) have also taken a similar position. "Adjustment denotes the process whereby an organism, organ or individual entity enters into a relationship of 'harmony' or 'equilibrium' with its environment; and the condition of having attained such a relationship. The antithesis, maladjustment denotes the absence of such process and/or the inability to attain such a condition".

ADJUSTMENT AS A LIFE-LONG PROCESS

There seems to be a general agreement that 'total adjustment' is an ideal to strive for rather than a goal to be attained. The process of adjustment goes on throughout life. Many writers think of 'adjustment' as the process through which the organism strives to maintain the state of homeostasis. Thus Tindall (1955) thinks of 'adjustment' as a life long process operating at all levels of Maslow's hierarchy of needs. As soon as a need arises, presumably through disturbance of the homeostasis, the organism strives to adjust itself through initiating behaviour which satisfies that need. A lack of adjustment thus becomes essential to

activity. Inactivity, on the other hand, would indicate a period, however short, of complete 'adjustment'. This point of view is open to objection on both the physiological and psychological planes. Northrop (1948) argues that a living organism could never achieve complete physiological homeostasis. "When a living system passes ------ to a state of thermodynamical equilibrium, death takes place" (Northrop, 1948). On the psychological level, the implication of Tindall's position appears to be fallacious. If lack of activity is taken as an indicator of 'adjustment', apathetic children would score highly on this variable when compared with active children. Mental patients in hospitals are hardly the most active people in the world! It would seem that a certain lack of 'adjustment' is essential for the purpose of motivation but the opposite is hardly true. Lack of motivation could not be equated with adjustment.

The life-long process of 'adjustment' has been well described by Samuel Butler (1932) in *The Way of all Flesh*. "All our lives long, everyday and every hour, we are engaging in the process of accommodating our changed and unchanged surroundings; living in fact, is nothing else but this process of accommodation; when we fail in it a little we are stupid, when we fail flagrantly we are mad, when we suspend it temporarily we sleep, when we give up the attempt altogether we die". 'Adjustment', thus, is a process which goes on throughout life.

ADJUSTMENT IN NORMATIVE TERMS

'Adjustment' has sometimes been seen in terms of normal behaviour in the statistical sense. There is always an implicit if not explicit standard often vague, of what constitutes 'normal adjustment'. Statistical averages of behaviour or more qualitative standards of social valuations have been used as the norms of 'adjustment'. Such an approach has, with some justification, received a sharp reprimand from Jones (1942). He argues that if the concept of statistically normal or average behaviour is equated with 'adjustment', a highly misleading standard is set up which has a most fallacious appearance of scientific objectivity. Thus in a culture where racial prejudice was an established norm, a person holding liberal views would be classified as 'maladjusted', his maladjustment showing a high positive correlation with his tolerance. There is a considerable body of literature to show that this is absurd.

Allport has long been insisting that'adjustment' of each individual is unique and could not be regarded in normative terms. His famous definition of personality shows this point clearly. "Personality is the dynamic organization within the individual of those psycho-physical systems that determine the unique adjustment to his environment". (Allport, 1949). Attempts to define 'adjustment' in normative terms, thus, appear to have been sterile and unsuccessful.

ADJUSTMENT AS CONFORMITY TO SOCIAL NORMS

Another way of looking at 'adjustment' is through acceptance or otherwise, of social norms. Thus where

a child does not accept the social norms prevalant at a particular time and place, he may be regarded as 'maladjusted'. Acceptance of social conventions, therefore, would be of vital importance. "Adjustment may thus be seen as a process of accommodating individual idiosyncracies to these expectations, difficult perhaps for some individuals with special needs but relatively easy for most". (Tibble, 1959). The deviation, however, must continue over a long period of time and not be based on the observation of individual action. "A child should be considered 'maladjusted' only if his behaviour was difficult or deviant more or less consistently over a considerable period of time; and that over-timidity and withdrawn behaviour may as much be a symptom of emotional disturbance as aggression and hostility" (Pringle and Clifford, 1962). Mason (1960) finds adoption of social norms and gaining social acceptance by themselves as insufficient criteria for 'adjustment'. The individual must also feel happy. "A successful person is one who lives and grows in such a way that he is actively aware, relatively satisfied and feels largely successful with his internal adjustment and as a result of this exhibits behaviour that is generally approved by him and relatively acceptable to the outside world". (Mason, 1960). A similar stand is taken by Boehm (1955) who considers 'adjustment' as a "condition and level of social functioning which is socially acceptable and personally satisfying". Jahoda (1961) places stress on harmony with social environment. "Cultural patterns

and the values and beliefs of an individual can, but need not, coincide. Where they do not coincide, an individual will experience a strain between his own inclinations and what the culture of his group requires. Where they do coincide, people will feel at ease in their environment without the experience of situational strains. When individuals manifest this overall favourable reaction to a situation, observers often remark that the man and the situation seem to be made for each other. There seems to be a natural fit between some people and effective culture pattern. Others are less well identified with it, though their presence in the situation may be as inevitable as that of the people at their ease: they do not manifest the fit". Burt and Howard (1952) are also thinking in terms of environmental 'fit' when they state "A maladjusted child may be defined as one whose adjustment to the recurrent situations of his everyday life are less adequate than might reasonably be expected from a child of his mental age, and whose conditions and circumstances therefore require special study and treatment". It is important to note here that Jahoda is not suggesting that mere conformity to the social norms would produce 'adjustment'. The 'fit' would be obtained only when the inclinations of the individual coincide with the demands of society. When conformity is the natural consequence of the individual's dispositions.

ADJUSTMENT AS FREEDOM FROM ANXIETY

Farnsworth (1961) has defined 'adjustment' in terms of freedom from anxiety. "Adjustment', according

to him "is a state of mind in which one is able to carry on his private life and his work without crippling anxiety or other disabling manifestations of emotional conflict --------- (it) entails freedom with responsibility, flexibility, self-reliance and a genuine concern for the common welfare". A similar position is adopted by Combs (1949) who states that "a maladjusted personality is equivalent to a threatened one. Conversely, a well-adjusted personality seems to be one unthreatened by its perceptions".

The credit of linking 'adjustment' with perception, including self-perception, must go to Carl Rogers. "When all of the ways in which the individual perceives himself - all perceptions of the qualities, abilities, impulses, and attitudes of the person, and all perceptions of himself in relation to others - are accepted into an organized conscious concept of the self, then his achievement is accompanied by feelings of comfort and freedom from tension which are experienced as psychological adjustment". (Rogers 1947). Barron (1955), however, disputes that self-awareness is essential for good 'adjustment'. He seems to think that self-awareness, if anything is a sign of 'maladjustment'. "We pay no attention to ourselves when we are in the best of health. It is when we are sick that the self comes to our notice. A person just *being himself* is not conscious. Self-consciousness arises from malfunction".

Mayman's idea of 'self-awareness' is similar to the 'reality perception' of Rogers. "An intact

sense of selfhood or self-determination indicates a successful synthesis by the individual of all that he has been and done, with all that he wants to be and do, with all he should and is able to be and do, without his disowning any major feelings, impulses, capacities or goals in the interests of inner harmony" (Mayman 1958). According to Snyder and Combs (1949) 'adjustment' is "adequate to the degree to which it is capable of accepting into organisation any and all aspects of reality". Lecky (1945) has also argued in similar terms. Lundberg et. al. (1952) emphasise the point that while self-awareness is essential for adjustment the 'reality perception' must also include a valid assessment of other people's attitude towards us "To gauge correctly the attitude of others towards us, and consequently the degree of objectivity towards ourselves, is generally regarded as a mark of a well-adjusted personality. Conversely, failure to appraise with some accuracy the attitudes of others towards us results in distorted notions of ourselves which, when sufficiently aggravated, are a common symptom of psychopathology".

PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL ACCOUNTS

Psycho-analytical schools of thought have also dealt with 'adjustment' at great length though the term itself has rarely been employed. Thus Blatz's 'independent security' as a basis of 'a well-adjusted personality', denotes the acceptance of the consequences of one's actions. It is only when a person is well-adjusted and mature, that he can begin to accept the

consequences of his actions, both good and bad. Sullivan's 'non-parataxic inter-personal relations' imply having clear ideas about other people. These ideas must coincide with reality and must not be coloured by past experience. In fact, the concept appears to be very similar to the 'reality perception' of Rogers. Adler's 'social feeling' means involvement with mankind in general. Only when a personality is 'well-adjusted' can it strive to identify itself with larger and larger groups. An extremely 'well-adjusted' person, according to Adler, will cease to strive for power as a compensation for inferiority feelings. Feelings of adequacy lead to increased identification with and love for others. Fromm's 'productive orientation' is achieved when a person breaks away from feelings of loneliness, and joins others in a loving productive way. When this is attained, 'adjustment' results. Otto Rank's 'creativity' is acquired when a person accepts and affirms his own individuality. The concept is similar to the 'reality perception' but is not limited to perception. The person must not be able to accept his individuality, he must also assert it.

A MULTI-CRITERION APPROACH

Some authors argue that 'adjustment' must be seen as a multi-dimensional concept and should be assessed against a number of criteria. Some of these criteria may well vary inversely with each other. Menniger, for example, thinks of 'adjustment' as an ability to form relationships with other human beings and adaptation to physical environment with maximum

effectiveness and happiness. "Not just efficiency, or just contentment or the grace of obeying the rules of the game cheerfully, it is all of these together. It is the ability to maintain an even temper, an alert intelligence, socially considerate behaviour, and a happy disposition" (Menniger, 1945).

It would certainly seem that 'adjustment' is indeed a multi-dimensional concept and perhaps it would be worth while to approach adjustment through examining the characteristics of 'a well-adjusted' person. Hilgard and Atkinson (1967) think that a 'well-adjusted' person would show

(a) Productivity and zest

(b) Ability to form affectionate relationships

(c) self-knowledge and self-acceptance

Whittaker (1966) feels that the essential properties of a well-adjusted individual are

(a) self-knowledge

(b) self-esteem

(c) ability to give and accept affection

(d) satisfaction of bodily desires

(e) ability to be productive and happy; and

(f) absence oftension and hypersensitivity.

The definitions discussed above could be classified into five groups, those stressing the importance of 'reality perception', 'dealing effectively with environment', 'absence of anxiety' 'socially acceptable behaviour' and 'personal satisfaction'. It appears that the five areas are not mutually exclusive. Since there is considerable overlap between the various factors emphasised by

different psychologists, there is, in fact, more agreement among them than may appear at first sight. It is difficult to see how a person can be free from anxiety unless he is socially accepted or personally satisfied. A socially acceptable and happy person, on the other hand, would generally be regarded as one dealing effectively with his environment. There again unless a person is able to view his environment, and himself, objectively, it would not be possible to deal with it effectively. It would seem, therefore, that most writers have a more or less similar stereotype of an 'adjusted' person but have laid stress on different aspects of a host of similar and possibly supplementary processes.

There is some empirical evidence to support this point of view. Melman and Kaplan (1958) constructed three tests to reflect the self-actualization men of Maslow, the autonomous men of Riesman and the more usual approach of the MMPI, respectively. The battery of tests was given to students at Kent State University. A very high degree of correspondence was found among the three tests. The same individuals were shown as adjusted or maladjusted on all the three tests.

Veroff, Felds and Gurin (1962) interviewed a representative sample of the United States population about their distress feelings in different life areas, such as perception of the self, symptoms of distress, adjustment in marriage, parenthood and work. These indices were then intercorrelated and factor analysed for men and women separately. Four common factors emerged in both men and women.

These were

Factor 1 - Psychological disturbance - (very similar in description to 'anxiety' as defined here.

Factor 2 - Unhappiness.

Factor 3 - Social inadequacy - (similar in content to 'Social Acceptability' as defined here)

Factor 4 - Lack of identity - Heightened self-awareness and lack of self-acceptance.

Adjustment as a multi-dimensional concept appears to offer the most fruitful approach to the present problem. The study and measurement of adjustment appears to be possible through assessing an individual against a series of criteria which are positively related to each other. Since adjustment is a life long process, a goal to strive for rather than a state to be achieved, it is useful to think of an optimum rather than a maximum level of 'adjustment'.

At this stage it may be worthwhile to offer a working definition of 'adjustment' in an attempt to extract something from all the theories and to relate them explicitly to each other. It is postulated now that a person may be called 'well-adjusted' if he is able to deal effectively with his environment through having an objective self-concept, is socially accepted, is personally satisfied and is free from anxiety.

It is postulated, therefore that a well adjusted person would

(a) be socially acceptable

(b) personally satisfied

(c) have an objective self-concept; and

(d) is free from anxiety.

Discussion of the validity of the construct follows for each dimension in turn.

SOCIAL ACCEPTANCE

Social acceptabilitymight be a criterion of 'adjustment'. Using 68 eighth grade students Scandrette (1953) found that individuals with high sociometric scores performed significantly better on the California Test of Personality. It may well be argued that many a genius was socially unacceptable in the societies in which he lived. Could we brand such people as 'maladjusted'? It must be mentioned that 'adjustment-maladjustment' is looked upon as a dimension. Anyone and everyone is 'maladjusted' (or adjusted) to a certain degree. A person who is relatively unacceptable to his community would certainly be regarded as maladjusted to that aspect of life. The operative word here is community. A person's community is the social group or groups with which he generally interacts. Social acceptance of a person would then be judged in terms of acceptance by his family, peer groups, work mates and the like.

Social acceptability at school is thus defined as "the degree of acceptance of the child by his peers in situations involving voluntary social interaction".

As discussed in Chapter 1, racial prejudice appears to be a fairly common and widespread phenomenon in England today, at least in areas with a high immigrant population. Since children acquire social attitudes from parents, peer groups and other adult influences around them, it is hypothesised that "immigrant children are less socially acceptable than English children".

PERSONAL SATISFACTION

Personal satisfaction might be a necessary condition for 'socio-personal adjustment'. It is recognised that complete personal satisfaction would not be achieved by anyone and that some dissatisfaction is essential for activity. However, at any given moment, one of the indicators of an individual's 'adjustment' would surely be the amount of satisfaction he derives from his socio-personal environment, his perception of himself and his relationships with others. Personal satisfaction would be gained only through self-acceptance, acceptance of others and coming to terms with the circumstances over which one has little control.

Thus personal satisfaction is defined as "the degree of satisfaction an individual derives from his perception of the self, his social environment and his personal relationships". Richardson (1961) found that satisfaction with life in the new country was essential for the 'adjustment' of British immigrants in Australia. Taft (1961) found similar results with Dutch immigrants in Australia. Campbell and Yarrow (1958) found that "adjustment in the new situation will be facilitated when personal attributes and long standing aspects of the self-picture need not be fully renounced denied or changed, but can be put into the service of the new situation. Functioning is impaired where prior positions must be fully renounced or cannot be re-defined in ways that are compatible with situational values". Since many aspects of the West Indian and Cypriot culture would

not be looked upon favourably in England, the immigrant child would need to alter his self-image, value systems and social roles radically in an attempt to adjust to his new environment. This is a difficult task and many are likely to fail. The new environment will possibly then be seen as hostile and one in which the chances of success for them are few. It is therefore, hypothesised that "English children are more personally satisfied than immigrants."

OBJECTIVE SELF-CONCEPT

An 'adjusted' individual perceives himself as he really is. The 'objective self' is defined here as 'the self as perceived by others'. Thus the difference between 'objective self' and the 'perceived self' becomes an indicator of the level of 'adjustment'. Objectivity of the self-concept is essential for dealing effectively with the environment, both physical and social. Unless one has self-knowledge, unless one is able to put oneself in 'other peoples shoes' and perceive oneself as one is perceived by others, it is unlikely that one would be able to command mastery over the social environment. For example, if an individual perceives himself as ugly and strong, but is not so perceived by others around him, it is unlikely that he would make appropriate responses in a situation where these two characteristics are the focal point of attention. The 'objectivity of self-concept' may thus be defined as the degree of overlap between the perceived self or the 'self as we see it' and the

objective self or 'the self as others see it'.

Hickman (1959) divided a group of 185 American college students into a "well adjusted" and a "poorly adjusted" group using MMPI and Harrower Multiple choice Rorschach test. He found that the "well-adjusted" group showed less discrepancies between the perceived self and the social self (the self as others see it).

Since immigrant children have moved across cultures, it is reasonable to expect that they will be at a disadvantage in assessing the impression they make on others. They may find it difficult to pick and interpret the common behavioural cues. It is therefore hypothesised that "English children have a more objective self concept than immigrant children".

FREEDOM FROM ANXIETY

Since the term 'anxiety' is rather ambiguous, it is intended to examine the meaning attached to this term by various authors in an attempt to arrive at a satisfactory definition of this term.

Anxiety has many meanings. According to Cattell (1957) the term has meant different things to different minds. In these various interpretations, clinical psychologists and learning theorists have erected rather elaborate and ostentatious theories about anxiety as a trait. Some consider anxiety as the main source of human motivation, while others see it as the chief disorganizer of motivation. Some describe it as physiological disturbances of the autonomic nervous system, as sources of the

drive or energy that accounts for all problem solving, as instinctual, as learned, as a form of behaviour, as a reaction of the body, as a conditioned instinctual drive, as form of fear diluted by remoteness and uncertainty of danger. Freud argued that anxiety consisted of sexual drives 'transformed' in the 'transference neurosis'. Some have been particularly critical of the concept of anxiety as disorganised behaviour or as specific physiological responses.

A psycho-analyst may prefer to define anxiety depending on his theoretical framework as a symptom, as a result, or as a signal of danger occurring as a result of a repressed desire or unconscious wish that is unacceptable to the ego or the super-ego, seeking conscious expression or release from the unconscious. Miller and Dollard (1941) speak of anxiety as a secondary drive acquired as result of the conditioned fear drive. They further explain that maladjustive behaviour as well as some adjustive behaviour patterns are learned and retained because they serve to reduce anxiety. It appears, then for drive-reduction theorists, anxiety is a concept to account for such behaviour which results in the reduction of the usual primary drive. Mowrer (1950) who has used anxiety similarly to account for all problem-solving behaviour, pointed out that in his two-factor theory, conditioned responses learned on the basis of contiguity give rise to anxiety when frustrated or blocked. New behaviour patterns are then learned in order to reduce the

anxiety. According to his view, conditioning is based on contiguity and problem-solving reinforced by reduction of anxiety.

Freud has in fact two opposing accounts of the fundamental nature of anxiety. In 1933, he put forward the notion that frustrated libido was transformed into anxiety. He later rejected this view, and suggested instead that anxiety arises in the ego as a signal to anticipated danger. During the state of helplessness of the infant from birth onwards, his nervous system is too immature to enable him to deal with such stimuli as hunger pain etc., so that the first anxious reactions are concomitant with the actual painful stimuli. But as he grows older this automatic response somehow becomes delayed and instead of being an immediate reaction accompanying response, it becomes a signalling device, under the control of the ego, giving warning that painful stimulation is likely to occur unless steps are taken to avoid it. In the absence of appropriate stimulation at the crucial period, or where something has gone wrong with the individual's maturational or learning system, the signalling function may not operate until relatively late in the child's career and immediate anxiety is experienced wherever danger occurs. The defences against this kind of anxiety are usually maladaptive and become pathological symptoms.

There seems to be a general agreement about Freud's second version of anxiety. Rosenzweig (1944) likewise considers that defences come into play as a means of dealing with need frustration and it is

only at this second-order level that anxiety can be said to be functioning. Maier (1949) also makes a similar point. According to him, anxiety is a product of frustration and in this case anxiety is 'free floating' and not goal directed. Maier, however, seems to miss the point which Freud has made in his second version that a theory based entirely on frustration could not adequately explain why some, but not other, stimuli in the environment are anxiety provoking. If this 'free-floating' anxiety is not related to environmental stimuli, we are dealing with some kind of psychotic state rather than with normal or even neurotic anxiety.

Berg (1951, 1952) however, made an attempt to reconcile Freud's two versions. Thus, "Anxiety is a state of tension that arises in an organism in consequence of frustration of instinctual gratification and subsequently in anticipation of this. It makes the interruption of the operation of the pleasure principle and inauguration of the reality principle (ego) ----- anxiety may be regarded as basically an id-tension which can directly emerge into consciousness and indirectly in a functional somatic discharge". According to this view, the development of anxiety is a form of learning. Indeed Berg goes so far as to say that the intellectual creativity of the Jews may well be due to the heightened ego development as a result of racial fear.

As regards the genetic origins of anxiety, Freud (1948) states that anxiety has three characteristics:

(a) , it is dependent upon a previous trauma - the prototype for all later anxious reaction being the birth trauma;

(b) it is determined by being related to some object presumably in the immediate situation;

(c) anxious reactions are biologically expedient or rather, they were so in man's original state.

In the present day society, flushes of adrenalin through the system are more likely to produce stomach ulcers than appropriate flight behaviour. According to this view then, it appears that Freud claims that all anxious reactions, when not strictly biologically appropriate, are neurotic. The distinction between normal and neurotic anxiety appears to be only a statistical or quantitative one. This view is regarded by many writers as highly debateable. Mowrer (1950) in particular takes Freud to task on this issue.

Some theorists consider anxiety as an exclusively undesirable and abnormal phenonmenon, others as a frequently normal and useful one, or as both, as in the distinction between normal and neurotic anxiety shows. Anxiety may be relatively temporary or permanent. There seems to be a general agreement that anxiety is fairly wide spread in occurrence in all societies. Many observers agree that it can occur at all age levels. Adolescence is usually a period of stormy maladjustment. Anxiety is high during the adolescent period and declines as the individual settles his problems of occupational adjustment, marriage, and social interactions.

Cattell (1961) points out that there is a tendency for anxiety to rise again somewhat in the middle age, particularly in housewives. It may thus be said that anxiety occurs in a large proportion of individuals at any given age level. There are many answers to the question as to what produces anxiety. It is not always easy to discern the relationship between the views of different writers.

Many accounts of anxiety recognize that it is determined more by economic status and social acceptability than by differences in family upbringing or the infantile weaning, trauma etc., about which clinicians have woven fascinating theories (Cattell and Scheier, 1961). Some regard conflict, threat, repression somatic illness, uncertainty, insufficient education, isolation from the community and the like as the sources of anxiety. An impression is given that anxiety is an acquired phenomenon or at least that certain experiences and situations are preconditions for its development. Yet, there are also suggestions that constitutional factors are important.

Confusion also arises in connection with the tendency to consider anxiety as similar but perhaps not identical to various other concepts such as insecurity, guilt, fear, hostility, conflict, neuroticism etc.

Many writers have confused anxiety with neuroticism. Freud, for example, claimed that anxiety is the "central problem of neurosis". Eysenck (1957) considers "neuroticism as a unitary

trait in which manifest anxiety plays a significant role". Eysenck (1960) develops his point further in a later publication. Anxiety is a conditioned fear reaction which is particularly characteristic of dysthymic neurotics, i.e. of persons who are high on the factor of introversion which is significantly correlated with conditionability. Whereas neuroticism is an "inherited psycho-physical disposition, closely linked with the ability of the autonomic nervous system, which governs a person's emotional reactivity, and may predispose him to the development of neurotic disorders under suitable circumstances". Anxiety, according to Eysenck, therefore, is a mixed concept being related both to neuroticism and to introversion.

According to the Hullian theory, when there is a conflict between primary drives and social training, then anxiety is aroused and it, by itself, may become an important secondary drive which is believed to play an important part in learning. If it is too strong, however, it hinders learning. Taylor and Spence point out that anxiety could be measured as a personality trait by an inventory almost similar in content with those used for measuring neuroticism. Eysenck is very critical of this approach but he is ready to accept that both neuroticism and anxiety can act as a drive. His followers (Lynn, 1959; Furneaux, 1962) interpret neuroticism as one of the motivating forces behind intellectual achievement.

Cattell and Scheier (1961) on the other hand, made a clear conceptual distinction between anxiety and neuroticism. According to them, anxiety, is a functionally unitary trait, with a host of identifying characteristics, from the totality of neuroticism. The most important theoretical difference from the classical views, which often regard neuroticism simply as an anxiety expression, is in their emphasis on anxiety's intrinsic freedom from pathology and their insistence that anxiety factor scores can be very high in normals for purely situational reasons. High anxiety can exist with complete absence of neuroticism. They point out that "anxiety in the broad range of everyday adjustments of everyone is demonstrably very little correlated with neuroticism, and over the normal personality ranges the final association with neuroticism can be slight".

In a series of investigations, Cattell and Scheier have been able to show that neuroticism is different from anxiety, in that both normal and neurotics can scatter over a similar wide range of anxiety. There is some tendency in general, for neurotics to be more anxious but high anxiety does not necessarily imply neuroticism. High anxiety may be either neuroticism or situational anxiety notably anxiety to achieve. Low anxiety may be interpreted either as good adjustment or as sheer lack of drive.

Scheier undertook to measure a great variety of commonly accepted manifestations of anxiety, together with behaviour theoretically expected to

be different notably stress response and various dynamic drives such as sex, fear, assertion etc. He found a clear single anxiety factor by factor analysis. This factor was different from effort stress response and from well-known drives. Since Eysenck (1963) appears to regard the main constituent of neuroticism as an emotional sensitivity which makes its possessor vulnerable to the stress of living, his neuroticism should correspond to Cattell's second-order anxiety factor.

The meanings attached to anxiety have been manifold. But there appears to be a general consensus that anxiety is a major independent factor in virtually every form of personality breakdown but is also found in the 'normal personality'. Although a certain level of anxiety is necessary for motivational purposes, a high degree of anxiety interferes with performance in sensory-motor, intellectual and social fields. It would be worth remembering that adjustment and all its criteria, including anxiety, are being considered as having an optimum rather than a maximum value. A high level of anxiety is characteristic of mental patients, neurotics and persons showing evidence of compulsive behaviour. Anxiety can probably be adequately conceptualised as a fusion of low fear with the anticipation of possible failure or punishment. Sometimes the source of the anxiety is not clear to the individual. A well-adjusted person would have little anxiety even in situations he finds repugnant or unbearable.

Bene (1961) found that "if people are exposed

to considerable environmental stress, they appear to resemble neurotics in their emotional and phantasy lives even if they do not resemble them in their behaviour. ------- inability to adapt for whatever reason, will produce anxiety". Since immigrant children are likely to be exposed to considerably more environmental stress than English children, it is hypothesised that "English children are less anxious than immigrant children".

A 'well adjusted' person, as conceptualised above, would need to be a paragon of virtue, but it is emphasised that total and complete 'adjustment' is seen here as a goal to be aimed at rather than a condition to be achieved. Every person would lie somewhere on the 'adjustment-maladjustment' continuum.

Since the definition proposed includes, "social acceptance" and "dealing effectively with environment", 'adjustment' must necessarily be culture-linked. A person who could be regarded 'well-adjusted' in say, the West Indies, may well prove to be 'maladjusted' to the English culture and social situation. It is therefore hypothesised that "Immigrant children are less 'well-adjusted' than English children."

Since the validity of any measure of 'adjustment' would be of crucial importance for this study, it is intended to examine briefly the procedure that would be most appropriate for determining validity of the measure used in this study.

Cronbach and Meehl (1955) argue that there

could be but only one type of validity, the construct validity. The other types of validity - face validity, content validity, predictive validity, concurrent validity, and internal consistency - are all grist in the mill of the construct validity. They argue that the psychologist is primarily interested in explaining and predicting human behaviour. This can only be done through assuming certain intervening variables such as 'intelligence', 'anxiety', 'sociability' and the like for which there is no satisfactory external criterion. A psychological test is useful only when it is based on an explicitly recognized and well-defined theoretical construct. The psychologist should explicitly spell out his theory behind the test and then examine all the implications that flow from such theoretical framework. Empirical examination of the implications should provide the feedback which may result in modification and reformulation of the construct. It is only through this continuous feed-back that the psychologist would be able to redefine his constructs and arrive at a tentative theory of human behaviour. Psychological testing would thus become a pure as well as an applied science. The constructs would be the basis of sound tests, and the test results would help to reformulate and redefine the constructs. Such an approach is especially helpful with disguised tests and projective techniques where other methods of determining validity have been found to be inappropriate.

It is difficult to see how any form of validity could be independent of the construct validity. Face and content validity, for example, are meaningful only by reference to the theoretical construct intended to be measured. The content or face validity of a test of 'social acceptability' may be examined only by a theoretical examination of what is meant by the term 'social acceptability'. Only when the construct of 'social acceptability' has been defined and all its aspects discussed could the test be examined to determine if it measures all the relevant aspects of the construct so defined. Unless it is clear what is meant by 'attainment in English' or 'vocabulary' the content or face validity of the test could not be determined.

Similarly, it appears that predictive, and content validity are also dependent on construct validity. No prediction could be made and criterion determined without reference to the construct underlying the test. If the predictive validity of an Intelligence test, for example, is determined employing academic achievement as the criterion, an implicit assumption about the construct of intelligence is made that it is the sole determinent of academic performance. Predictive validity, thus could only be determined by reference to the construct validity, but is a useful tool for examination and reformulation of theoretical constructs. Suppose through some accident (of the kind yet to happen in psychology) a test battery was found to have an almost perfect correlation

with performance on the criterion X. This would have only a limited value. The battery would be useful only for the purpose of predicting accurately performance on the criterion X, and no more. Only when the construct on which the test battery had been based or could have been based, have been examined, their relationship with each other and with the criterion postulated, that the prediction about performance on other related criteria could be predicted and tested. Good prediction could only be made through a theoretical model of human behaviour.

The criticisms of predictive validity also apply to concurrent validity. A test would be useful notsimply if itempirically distinguishes the two groups but because an examination of the theoretical construct behind the test leads to a prediction that the two groups would differ on the test performance and that such prediction is empirically confirmed. Correlation with other tests is of limited value. A high correlation with other tests shows nothing more than that the present test is an unnecessary and crude duplication of an earlier test. A moderate correlation may show that the test is measuring similar but not identical behaviour domain, that the constructs measured by the two tests are similar though not identical. Correlation with ratings lead to a similar conclusion. A moderate correlation with rating shows thata test is measuring the same behaviour domain as sampled by the ratings, but probably more effectively. If a test shows

high correlation with ratings, there is no point in giving the test, ratings alone would do.

Internal consistency of the test is sometimes employed as evidence of its validity. Factorial analyses and correlations of individual items with the total scores are the most common procedures used. The internal consistency methods simply indicate whether the test is measuring a uni-dimensional variable. They do not tell what is being measured. Internal consistency methods acquire meaning only through reference to construct validity. They may be employed as techniques for obtaining evidence about construct validity.

The discussion so far leads to a conclusion that construct validity is the only true measure of the validity of a test. Ebel (1961) objects to the idea on the grounds that a test should not be conceived as measuring a pre-existing personality trait rather than an operationally defined concept. He thinks that the validity of a test should be looked upon in a much narrower context. The question should not be "Is this valid for measuring mechanical aptitude?" but "Is it valid for predicting the future performance of car mechanics in a certain town?" The validity should be seen as limited and relatively specific. This approach, it appears, would lead into blind alleys. While it is recognised that the predictive validity of a test differs from situation to situation, this recognitiion alone is not enough. Efforts must be made to discover the factors which determine the differences between the different situations. This

could be done through formulating hypothetical constructs which explain these differences and testing the predictions in a variety of situations. A teacher, for example, is not merely interested in knowing the precise predictive validity of an intelligence test for academic performance at school, but also why the test gives different predictions in different schools and why the predictions in a given school are not perfect. Evidence about the limitations of the test is just as valuable as about its accurate prediction. Psychology will advance only through such careful synthesis of empirical evidence with theory. A theory which attempts to explain not just what happens to the majority but which also explains the exceptions to the general rule is a good theory. Why *all* under-achievers under-achieve? Why *all* children from broken homes do not become delinquent. A model of human behaviour based on empirically tested psychological constructs would perhaps in the far future supply the answers.

It has been argued so far that construct validity is the most comprehensive and the only useful term for classifying test validity. This is not to say that provided the construct is explicitly recognised, no empirical evidence need be collected to show that the test is in fact measuring what it is supposed to measure. A construct is a tentative hypothesis about an intervening variable. The test measuring the construct is useful in so far as it enables an empirical

examination of the relations of the construct with other variables and observable events. The position is put very clearly by Vernon (1964). "We can follow the construct validity approach provided we realize the need always to return ultimately to external data of some kind. A valid test must give meaningful results; that is, it must link up with various kinds of observable behaviour which have been predicted from the construct. Thus intelligence tests are acceptable, not merely because they conform to a factorial model (useful as this is), but because they do correlate with educational and other kinds of achievements and with observers' judgements, in a logical way".

The construct of adjustment as defined here predicts a moderate but not high correlation between 'Social Acceptability' 'Personal Satisfaction', 'Objectivity of the self-concept' and 'Freedom from anxiety'. If the test designed to measure 'adjustment' does, in fact, show such correlations between the sub-test scores, it would be considered as a useful evidence in favour of the construct validity of the test. Additional data in the form of correlations with observer ratings, and observable behaviour predicted by the construct, would also be very useful evidence.

CHAPTER 6

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL NATURE OF THE VARIABLES UNDER STUDY II: OTHER VARIABLES

This chapter examines the nature of variables that are being studied for their relationship with 'adjustment'.

ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

Of the variables under consideration in this chapter, academic achievement is perhaps the easiest and the least controversial. Drever (1964) defines achievement as "performance in a standardised series of tests usually educational". English and English (1959) define academic or scholastic achievement as "the ability to perform at school tasks".

In the present study, academic achievement was taken to mean the testee's performance at school in all his 'academic subjects'. By 'academic subject' is meant any subject which is normally assessed by means of written examinations. Thus Religious Education, Mathematics, Science, Geography, and History were included as 'academic subjects' but Physical Education, Metalwork, and Art were not. English was not included in the list of 'academic subjects' here because it was studied as a separate variable.

NON-ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

Success and recognition at tasks at school which were not academic in nature were included in

this heading. This included success in sports, games, swimming and boxing.

INTELLIGENCE

With the exception of personality, the nature of intelligence has perhaps provoked the largest amount of discussion and controversy amongst psychologists. Several books have been published (Thurstone, 1926; Spearman, 1923; Knight, 1943; Hunt, 1961) and a number of symposia have been organised (Brit. J. Psychol, 1910; J. educa. Psychol., 1921; Intern. Congress of Psychol., 1923) yet the field remains controversial as ever. "Intelligence is a word with so many meanings that finally it has none" (Spearman, 1927). Typical of those symposia was the one organised by the Journal of Educational Psychology in 1921 where 13 prominent psychologists put forward 13 different views about the nature of'intelligence'. There have been suggestions, however, that these differences may have been partly due to ambiguous questions posed by the Editor or through the lack of a general agreement about what constitutes a definition (Burt, 1955, Miles, 1957). Vernon (1960) after a thorough review of the various approaches to the study of 'intelligence' feels that since the war there has been some reapprochement between the various conflicting views.

The biological approach to the study of 'intelligence' is the natural extension of the theories of evolution into the realm of human behaviour. Such definitions have equated intelligent behaviour with adaptation to the

environment and capacity to benefit by previous experience. While the biological approach is successful in explaining the differences between intelligence of various species, it seems to be an inadequate basis of explanation of the human intellect. The approach would lead to a prediction the most intelligent people would be extremely 'well-adjusted' to their environment, a proposition which is known to be false. 'Adjustment' among human beings seems to be primarily a function of emotional rather than intellectual factors.

The psychological definitions of 'intelligence' have been concerned with human cognitive functions rather than evolution. These definitions have generally been arrived at through comparison of what is generally regarded as 'intelligent' with 'not-so-intelligent' behaviour. (The word 'unintelligent' has been deliberately avoided here as it would be almost impossible to say what is 'unintelligent' behaviour). Thus Spearman explained the general factor of 'intelligence' or 'g' as the "eduction of relations and correlates". Knight (1943) feels that simple eduction of relations and correlates is insufficient. It should be goal-directed. He thinks of 'intelligence' as "the capacity of relational constructive thinking directed to the attainment of some end". It appears that the above definition is the implicit assumption behind all intelligence testing.

Some writers have stressed the role of application of acquired knowledge in problem

solving as the criterion of 'intelligent behaviour'. Thus Anstey (1966) thinks of 'intelligence' as "capacity to utilize past experience to solve new problems. Ryle (1949) is also stressing utilization of knowledge when he states that "to be intelligent is not merely to satisfy criteria but to apply them; to regulate one's action and not merely be regulated". Since relational thinking could only be based on past experience, 'capacity to utilize past experience to solve new problems' and 'relational thinking directed towards the attainment of some end' acquire very similar meaning.

Burt (1955) is of the opinion that the purpose would be better served if the definition of 'intelligence' was left broad and vague. He defines 'intelligence' as "innate general cognitive ability". The conception of 'intelligence' as innate has come under serious criticism (Hunt, 1961) while works of Piaget (1947) and Hebb (1958) have shown the intimate connection between the development of 'intelligence' and early perceptual and emotional experience. These have emphasised the need to take notice of the distinction drawn by Hebb (1949) and Vernon (1955) between intelligences A, B and C.

Attempts have been made to define 'intelligence' in terms of intelligence test scores. "Intelligence is what intelligence tests measure". Apart from the apparent circularity of this approach the various intelligence tests do not appear to be measuring the same variable. Working with test scores Spearman put forward the idea of 'a general

factor of intellectual ability'. The existence of this general factor or 'g' as Spearman named it, was denied by Thurstone (1938), Thomson (1956) and others. Using improved factor analytical techniques Guilford (1966) has put forward a model of the structure of intellect which has 120 independent factors. He claims to have discovered 80 factors and is hopeful about the others. This multiplication of the factors has been criticized by Vernon (1965) on the grounds that the statistical method employed leaves open the possibility of an infinite sub-division of factors, that further such division adds neither to the theoretical understanding of intellectual functions nor increases prognastic capacity of success at intellectual tasks. McNemar (1964) has censured Guilford for ignoring the consistency of positive correlation between different factors. "By omitting this central feature of the scene Guilford has truly cut the Dane from his production of Hamlet. If this is really the best model (1965 style) which psychology can offer of intelligence and intellect, then the time seems to have come to retrace our steps; something has gone very wrong indeed!"(Eysenck, 1967).

The universality of positive correlations between all tests of cognitive ability has led to a much wider acceptance of two factor theory with a general factor, several group factors and specific factors. Until recently the general ability factor or 'g' has generally been treated as a single

factor Cattell (1963) suggests that this general ability factor is composed of not one but two factors, the fluid and the crystallised general ability. These two factors have positive loadings with most of the general ability primaries but have zero loadings outside the intelligence field. Crystallised ability appears to be related to abilities which require previous learning while fluid ability contributes more in tests requiring adaptation to strange situations and novel techniques. In a recent paper, Cattell has put his position clearly. "---- Two broad factors are distinguishable by one, called crystallised intelligence, g_c, loading most heavily the culturally acquired judgment skills, while the other, called the fluid ability, g_f, is found loading insightful performances in individual differences in learning experience play little part" (Cattell, 1967).

Cattell has produced convincing evidence to support his theory of two general factors. The theory could be regarded as a major breakthrough in the field of cross-cultural intelligence testing. For the first time a theory has been able to put culture dependence of intelligence tests in a theoretical framework, at the same time explaining why intelligence tests have some prognostic value even in the culture for which they were not intended.

An immigrant child who scored high on his home-culture oriented test is also likely to score high on an alien culture-related test, when

compared with children of his own culture group. He is, however, not likely to score as high on the alien culture-related test as his alien counterpart. This, according to Cattell's theory, is due to the fact that for an immigrant child a traditional intelligence test is only measuring g_f while for a local child it is measuring both g_f and g_c.

INTEREST

The nature of 'interest' has been under consideration by psychologists for a long time. During the days of introspective psychology it was one of the major fields of study. The discussions were generally based on subjective experience and 'interest' was held to be closely related to feeling. The various meanings attached to the term at various points of time have been discussed in detail by Berlyne (1949).

Some authors have gone to the extent of studying personality entirely in terms of 'interest'. Dubbs (1943) writes "The personality itself may be defined as a set of dominant and subordinate interests and associated mechanisms that motivate a particular organism". Murphy (1947) though reluctant to define personality solely in terms of 'interests', nevertheless feels that they play a major role in personality organisation. "Interests also behave like dominant conditioning. Data on the continuity of interest, which show a rather high degree of instability during the second decades of life, indicate that in young adults this set of symbols has taken on (within ordinary rather than constant environment)

almost the fixity - even the rigidity - of the fundamental language habits themselves".

He continues "Interests - in work, in hobbies, in games, in books, are overlearned responses in this sense, and they stick, consequently they play a huge role in personality consolidation".

Fryer (1931) has distinguished between subjective and objective 'interest'. He defines 'subjective interest' as concomitant feeling when a person is engaged with the object of his interest while the 'objective interest' is the activity itself. In other words, they are the affective and conative aspects of interest. 'Subjective interest' could be tapped through self-ratings or reports while 'objective interest' could be measured through observation or record. It is difficult to imagine, however, that affective and conative aspects of interest could exist without the corresponding cognitive side. In order to be interested in politics one needs to understand its nature and function. A person is unlikely to be interested in mathematics if he does not understand the first thing about it. This understanding need not be precise, accurate or objective, but the individual must have some cognitive map, however imprecise or inaccurate, of the object of his 'interest' before he has any feeling towards it or strives to do anything about it.

Fryer (1931) while discussing developments in the measurement of interests has distinguished between 'interest' and 'emotion' which he considers to be the driving force behind behaviour.

"The measurement of interests, however, is making new distinctions. During the last ten years of research subjective interests have come to be regarded as complex configuration of feeling experience, and the driving force of the experience is no longer considered to be a part of the interest factor being measured. The motivation factor in experience is considered separately. The criterion of interest is thought of as the feeling".

Strong (1955) has reviewed the various meanings attached to the concept of 'interest' and has attempted to distinguish it from other similar concepts such as 'achievement', 'ability', 'attitude', 'habit', 'desire', 'want', 'feeling' and the like. He came to the conclusion that the term 'interest' has no separate psychological entity of its own but merely represents the area in which the various aspects of human behaviour overlap.

Guilford (1959) defines 'interest' in terms of 'attention'. According to him "an interest may be defined as an individual's generalised behaviour tendency to be attracted to certain class of activities". A more comprehensive definition which in addition to stressing the role of 'attention', also brings into focus, the close connection between 'interest' and 'attitude' is offered by Murphy (1947). He thinks of 'interest' as "the attitude with which one attends to anything; the feeling accompanying attention. Especially in the plural interests are dispositions defined in terms of objects which one

easily and freely attends to or which one regards as making a difference to oneself".

Seen in this light both "attitude" and "interest" represent the same psychological process. "Whereas 'interests' are classified according to the class of the object to which a person has an attitude, 'attitudes' are classified according to the type of response". (Bhatnagar, 1964). McIver (1937) has argued the point convincingly in his *Text Book of Sociology*.

Eysenck (1960) feels that 'interests' are positive 'attitudes'. He states "Interests are attitudes having positive valences, or, to put it rather more simply interests are attitudes held with respect to objects or classes of objects towards which we feel a certain attraction". Thus according to Eysenck 'interest' in an object, institution or category of people is identical with a positive 'attitude' towards them. A closer examination reveals this argument to be fallacious. The President of the United States, for example, may have a keen 'interest' in the political developments in the Kremlin but it does not follow that he has a favourable 'attitude' towards those developments. Ferguson et. al. (1941) are of the opinion that one may be interested in the things one likes as well as in things one dislikes. Smythe (1946) accepts that 'interest' could be accompanied by positive or negative feelings. He defines 'interest' in school subjects as "an attitude of acceptance of, indifference to, or rejection of statements expressing liking or disliking for any subject".

Sandall (1960), on the other hand, draws a clear

distinction between 'attitude' and 'interest'. "An interest" he declares "is a generalized, long standing tendency to be attracted to a particular class of activities. "An attitude" is a liking or aversion in respect of a class of social or political activities, or in respect of types of activities, persons, institutions, or concepts. The feelings involved in acceptance-rejection and the like-dislike of such classes is prominent in 'attitudes', whereas in case of 'interests' the cognitive element is more noticeable: there is often curiosity and a desire for information concerning the objects or other stimuli".

This clear cut distinction appears to be unwarranted since both 'attitude' and 'interest' have cognitive, conative as well as affective elements. Vernon (1954) holds the view that "Interests are very much the same as attitudes though their definition is also a matter of controversy. Their subject matter is usually more concrete". The fact that 'attitude' and 'interest' have similar meanings can be further demonstrated by the fact that instruments for measuring 'interests' and 'attitudes' have employed very similar techniques. After a thorough survey of the current 'interest' and 'attitude' tests, Anastasi (1961) observed "Although certain tests are specifically directed towards the measurement of one or other of these variables, the available instruments cannot be rigidly classified according to such discrete categories as interests, attitudes, values and the like". It would thus appear that while a distinction between 'attitude' and 'interest' could

be made if 'interest' relates to concrete objects, no such differentiation could be upheld if the object of 'interest' has a much wider degree of generality or is abstract in nature.

Fleming (1960) provides a useful frame of reference for the study of 'generalised interests' in Cotswold Personality Inventory. She divided 'interest' into three general areas, interest in people, interest in ideas and interest in things. It is possible that specific interest may be related to 'adjustment', but it appeared fruitful to study the relationship between the dominant interest in things, people or ideas, and 'adjustment'.

ATTITUDES

Social scientists have probably devoted more time and energy to the discussion of the nature of 'attitudes' than to any other topic. At present, one of the most pressing problems facing humanity is the mechanism governing the change of 'attitudes'. While in some countries the greatest social problem is racial, ethnic, and religious prejudice, in others, it is unfavourable attitudes towards introduction of technology (especially in agriculture), birth control and the like which need to be changed. We would be in a better position to manipulate the change in this aspect of human behaviour if we understood its nature. Commenting on the importance of the study of 'attitudes' Sherif and Sherif (1956) state "The problem of social attitudes whether treated under this or some other heading is of central concern in social psychology. During the last 40 years, much

more has been published on various aspects of this problem than on any other topic, both by psychologists and by sociologists. Some authors have gone so far as to equate social psychology with the study of social attitudes". Despite the vast literature on this subject, there is no generally agreed definition of the term 'attitude', not an unusual state of affairs in psychology! Nelson (1939) has discussed twenty three different meanings assigned to the term. According to Strauss (1945) "the concept (of attitude) despite its key position is marked by considerable confusion". Some have even suggested that we ought to abandon the term altogether. "The demise of attitude in the far future will be a happy day for social science, since that event will signify the emergence of a more integrated and scientific system of social behaviour" (Doob, 1947).

The definitions put forward by different authors may be classified under five heads.

1. 'ATTITUDE' IN TERMS OF OPINION

Eysenck (1960a) describes attitudes as a collection of similar and closely interrelated opinions. According to him when an individual "holds concurrently a large number of ----- opinions on the same issue which in combination define his attitude towards that issue". A somewhat similar position was held by Thurstone and Chave (1929) in the now famous book *The Measurement of Attitude*. This assumption can be observed behind nearly all attempts to measure 'attitude' through attitude scales.

2. 'ATTITUDE' AND THE LEARNING THEORIES

Attempts have been made to relate 'attitude' to various concepts derived from the theories of learning. Doob (1947) defines 'attitude' as "an implicit response which is both anticipatory and mediating reference to patterns of overt responses and which is evoked by a variety of stimulus patterns as a result of previous learning or gradients of generalization and discrimination which is itself cue and drive producing and which is considered socially significant in the individual's society".

These attempts to describe 'attitudes' in terms of learning theories appear to be premature. At present, learning theories are at pains to explain the relatively simple behaviour of animals and have not reached a stage of development whereby they can provide a model for the explanation of human behaviour. This stage will one day, no doubt, be reached, but that day is probably still far away.

Queener (1949) also relates 'attitudes' to learning. However, he refers only to those aspects of learning theory which are generally accepted and thus avoids the controversies in the field of learning theory. Attitude, according to him, is "(a) a positive imitation of prestige persons and groups (b) a negative imitation of non-prestige persons or groups and (c) a form of aggression against frustrating persons or groups".

3. 'ATTITUDES' AS EMOTIONAL CONCOMITANTS OF PSYCHOLOGICAL OBJECTS

In his later works Thurstone (1946) has defined

'attitude' solely in terms of affect. He defines 'attitude' as "the intensity of positive or negative affect for or against a psychological object". By psychological object is meant "any symbol, person, phrase, slogan or idea towards which people can differ as regards positive or negative affect". Edwards (1957a) finds this definition quite acceptable and goes on to show that it forms the basis of most attitude tests. This definition, however, ignores the cognitive or conative aspects of attitudes. A dustman, for example, may associate positive or negative affect with his council's 'refuse-collection regulations', he may even associate positive or negative affect with a political party, but he cannot be said to have an 'attitude' towards, say, higher mathematics, because he does not understand the first thing about it. Before he can have an attitude towards higher mathematics he must understand what it is all about, and how it affects his life. An 'attitude', therefore, must also have a cognitive part before it develops its affective content.

Moreover, 'attitudes' are dynamic organizations. They do not merely produce affect but also have motivational qualities. They motivate the individual to seek or avoid the stimulus. Thus 'attitudes' have cognitive, conative as well as affective qualities.

Viewed in this way 'attitude' is a multi-dimensional concept. Fishbein (1965) is of the opinion that the affective aspect or 'attitude' should be distinguished from the cognitive component or 'belief'. A *'belief in'* an object refers to the belief in the

existence of that object while a *'belief about'* the object refers to the belief about the nature of that object. One may have a *'belief in'* God or the fairy god-mother, but one has *'belief about'* the laziness of the Negro. An 'attitude' merely indicates one's position on the like-dislike continuum. Krech and Crutchfield (1948) think that one could have 'belief about' objects as long as one is neutral towards them. But once one acquires affect towards the object, the 'belief' becomes a component of the 'attitude' towards that object. "attitudes' are 'beliefs' with affect while 'beliefs' are neutral. Katz and Stotland (1959) hold a similar view that a 'belief' is not an 'attitude' unless accompanied by affect.

The three components of 'attitude' appear to be so closely interrelated that any attempt to isolate them would destroy the validity of the concept of 'attitude'. A rigid distinction between 'attitude' and 'belief' is unwarranted and unhelpful.

4. 'ATTITUDES' AS CONSISTENCY OF RESPONSE

Some psychologists have tried to describe 'attitudes' as latent factors responsible for consistent social behaviour. According to Campbell (1950) "a social attitude is (or is evidenced by) consistency in response to social objects". This definition is rather vague. It does not throw any light on the nature of 'attitude' itself. A consistent response may show an 'attitude' but do we know what this 'attitude' exactly is? What are its characteristics? Is it enduring or changeable? Is it acquired or inherited? It is rather surprising that Sherif

and Sherif (1956) in their otherwise brilliant work find Campbell's definition acceptable.

5. ATTITUDES AS READINESS TO MAKE CERTAIN ACTIONS

Attempts to describe 'attitudes' in terms of mental, neural and muscular sets or adjustments have been popular. Thus according to Cantril (1935) an 'attitude' is a "more or less permanently enduring state of readiness of mental organization which predisposes an individual to react in a characteristic way to any object or situation with which it is related". Murphy (1947) defines 'attitudes' as "readiness to act in one way rather than another". He, however, goes on to say that careful analysis seems to show that "it consists at least in part, of partial and finer symbolic acts". 'Attitude', according to Guilford (1959) is a "disposition a person has to favour or not to favour a type of social object or social action". "An individual's attitude towards something" says Newcomb (1952) "is his predisposition to perform, perceive, think, and feel in relation to it".

6. 'ATTITUDE' AS A COMPREHENSIVE CONCEPT

All the definitions discussed above have tried to emphasise one aspect of 'attitude' at the cost of others. More comprehensive definitions covering several aspects have been given by Nelson (1939) and Allport (1935).

After discussing numerous definitions of 'attitude', Nelson (1939) defines 'attitude' as "a felt disposition arising from the integration of

experience and innate tendencies with disposition which modifies in a general way the responses to psychological objects". Allport (1935) has given a very comprehensive definition which has found wide acceptance. He thinks of 'attitudes' as a "mental and neural state of readiness organized through experience, exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations with which it is related".

The definitions discussed above by no means exhaust the vast literature on the subject. Only a few representative examples have been picked here. It would perhaps be a futile task to put forward a definition of such a complex process. It does seem, however, that the following features are common to all definitions and may be regarded as 'generally acceptable' properties of attitudes.

(a) 'Attitude' is an intervening variable.

(b) Attitudes are learnt.

(c) Attitudes are more or less enduring but are amenable to change.

(d) Attitudes have a reference point.

(e) Attitudes have a cognitive, affective as well as a conative aspect.

(f) The referents of 'attitude' have varying degrees of generalizations.

Social attitudes are extremely important aspects of an individual's personality and it is likely that several social attitudes are related to 'adjustment' of immigrant children. The teachers claimed, however, that 'attitude towards school' is significantly related to 'adjustment' of immigrant children. It

is also an area where the home culture stands in startling contrast with the host culture.

In the developing countries, possession of a School Leaving Certificate could mean a tremendous boost to one's financial and social prospects. Attainment at school is usually looked upon as the route to success and consequently attitude towards school is almost invariably favourable. It is unlikely that the West Indies and Cyprus are the exceptions to this general pattern. In Britain, on the other hand, the school, especially the secondary modern school, is looked upon, by many children, as the place they are forced to attend, that it is irrelevant to their future life and aspirations, and that it is generally a nuisance to have to attend school. This is evident from the large proportion of children that leave secondary modern schools at the earliest possible opportunity. Immigrant children are likely to acquire two opposing sets of attitudes. The home culture influences, mainly through the parents and immigrant community, would lead them to adopt a positive attitude, while the host culture influences, mainly through their English peers, would push them towards acquiring a negative attitude towards school. This would result in an increase in cognitive dissonance and hence an increase in anxiety among immigrant children.

There is another way in which the school would present itself as an object of both like and dislike, at the same time. It is obvious from the discussion in Chapter 1 that the immigrant children are likely

to perceive the English society as both hostile and rejecting and would develop unfavourable attitude towards it and its institutions. School as an institution of such society would naturally engender a negative attitude. On the other hand, most schools protect immigrant children against any explicit demonstration of prejudice and discrimination. It must be one of the few public places they feel least discriminated against and as having an opportunity for fair play. This is evident from the number of coloured 'prefects' appointed in the schools, the same children who later find it difficult to compete with their English peers on equal terms for jobs in industry. This would probably result in a favourable attitude towards school. The positive and negative attitude towards the school at one and the same time would result in an increase in cognitive dissonance and hence in anxiety among immigrant children.

EXTRAVERSION-INTROVERSION

The popularisation of the terms 'extraversion-introversion' is due to Jung. But as Eysenck (1964) points out that "it is an error to think that he (Jung) invented these terms, for they were in fact current on the Continent for over two hundred years before his time". Jordan (1890) appears to have been the first psychologist to use the term. He postulated two antithetical types, recognizing however, that these types only represent the two extremes of a single continuum. He wrote "There are numberless varieties of character ------ many divisions, conspicuous types, intervening gradations, equal or

unequal developments, varying combinations. In domestic and social life, intermediate characters produce perhaps the most useful and happiest results, but the progress of the world at large is mainly due to the combined efforts of the supremely impassioned and reflective, and the supremely active and unimpassioned temperaments".

Jordan thus classified people into 'reflective' and 'active' types. A somewhat similar classification into deep-narrow and shallow-broad types was proposed by Gross (1909). The works of Jordan and Gross would probably have been forgotten except for the writings of Jung (1933). Starting from the works of Jordan and Gross, Jung postulated that the main typological difference between 'introverts' and 'extraverts' is due to the tendency of libido to be either primarily concerned with inner mental states or with the outer world. Jung's position has been well summarised by Hall and Lindzey (1957).

"Jung distinguishes two major attitudes or orientations of personality, the attitude of *extraversion* and the attitude of *introversion*. The extraverted attitude orients the person towards the external, objective world; the introverted attitude orients the person towards the inner, subjective world. Both of these opposing attitudes are present in the personality but ordinarily one of them is dominant and conscious while the other is subordinate and unconscious. If the ego is predominantly extraverted in its relation to the world, the personal unconscious will be introverted".

Freud's conception of 'extraversion-introversion' is different from that of Jung. Freud (1920) considers 'introversion' as "one of the invariable and indispensable considerations in every case of psychoneurosis - a substitution of actual objects by phantasies of these objects". He tends to identify 'introversion' with incipient neuroticism. According to him "An introvert is not yet a neurotic but he finds himself in a labile condition; he must develop systems at the next dislocation of forces if he does not find other outlets for his pent up libido" (Freud, 1920). Thus while Jung appears to have in mind two orthogonal factors, one representing the 'extraversion-introversion' continuum, the other 'normal-neurotic', Freud seems to propose 'extraversion-introversion-neuroticism' all in one continuum.

American psychologists have, on the whole, treated "'extraversion-introversion' as a trait in terms of 'gregariousness and popularity vs. shy withdrawn introspective" (Vernon, 1964). This again is different from Jung's idea of 'extraversion-introversion' as a fundamental aspect of personality. Guilford has factor analysed 36 items considered a priori to be typically representative of extraversion-introversion, in order to arrive at more homogeneous measures. Through successive studies Guilford (1959) broke down the concept into five sub-factors. His sub-factors, however, show considerable overlap.

Eysenck is the leading research worker on 'extraversion-introversion' in Britain. He has

proposed a hierarchical model of personality organisation (Eysenck, 1960). At the lowest level, in his model, are the specific responses. These are reactions to specific situations and need never be repeated. At the next level we have the habitual responses which tend to be repeated under similar situations. At the next level habitual responses get organised into traits such as persistence, sociability, honesty, punctuality and the like. These traits are arrived at through the study of intercorrelations amongst habitual responses and may be conceived of as group factors. At the highest level traits get organised into types. Following Jung, Eysenck believes that there are two basic personality types, the 'extraverts' and the 'introverts'. Eysenck describes typical 'extraverts' as "sociable, likes parties, has many friends, needs to have people to talk to, or does not like reading or studying by himself. He craves excitement, takes chances, acts on the spur of the moment, and is generally an impulsive individual. He is fond of practical jokes, always has a ready answer, and generally likes change; he is carefree, easy-going, optimistic and likes 'laugh and be merry'. He prefers to keep moving and doing things, tends to be aggressive and loses his temper quickly; his feelings are not kept under tight control and he is not always a reliable person" (Eysenck, 1964).

A typical 'introvert' is "quiet, retiring sort of person, introspective, fond of books rather than people; he is reserved and reticent except with

intimate friends. He tends to plan ahead 'looks before he leaps' and distrusts the impulse of the moment. He does not like excitement, takes matters of everyday life with proper seriousness, and likes a well ordered mode of life. He keeps his feelings under close control, seldom behaves in an aggressive manner, and does not lose his temper easily. He is reliable, somewhat pessimistic, and places great value on ethical standards" (Eysenck, 1964).

Eysenck points out that 'pure' 'extraverts' or 'introverts' are unlikely to be found to exist. "They are, as it were, idealized cases and there is no implication that everyone is either a typical extravert or a typical introvert. Such ideal cases are often useful for stating a general rule or law, and use of them, of course, is made in Physics. The first law of motion, for instance, as propounded by Newton, states that a body will continue in its present motion unless acted upon by an external force, never happens; it is an ideal case which is merely put in the form of a law, in order to make the symbolic manipulation of the data easier. It is in this way that the definition of extreme extraversion and introversion should be considered" (Eysenck, 1964).

In view of the above discussion, the definition of extraversion-introversion put forward by Eysenck are adopted for the purpose of this thesis. It seems that 'extraversion' is a fundamental personality trait.

Some teachers claim that one of the reasons for the maladjustment of immigrant children is their

excessive 'extraversion'. Teachers may not understand the construct of extraversion as defined here and may be referring to attention gaining behaviour which is a sign of distress. However, in this study it was decided to explore the relationship of this construct with 'adjustment'.

Since no theoretical framework and the little empirical evidence was available to offer guidance for the formulation of the hypotheses, it was decided to test the commonly expressed views of the teachers and others concerned with education, about adjustment of immigrant children.

On the basis of experience, the pilot work, teachers survey reported in Chapter 4, and little empirical evidence that was available, it was decided to test the paradigm through the following hypotheses.

HYPOTHESES

1. Immigrant children are less well-adjusted than English children.

2. Immigrant children are less socially acceptable than English children.

3. English children are more personally satisfied than immigrants.

4. English children are less anxious than immigrant children.

5. English children have a more objective self-concept than immigrant children.

6. Chronological age is negatively related to immigrant children's adjustment.

7. Age at the time of emigration is negatively related to adjustment in immigrant children.

8. Length of residence in Britain is positively related to adjustment of immigrant children.

9. Immigrant children whose families intend returning home are significantly less well-adjusted than those who have settled permanently.

10. Immigrant children living with both parents are significantly more well-adjusted than others.

11. Immigrants working mothers have less well-adjusted children.

12. Adjustment of immigrant is negatively related to the family size.

13. Middle class immigrant children are significantly more well-adjusted than the working class immigrant children.

14. Immigrant children have lower academic achievement than English children.

15. Academic achievement of immigrant children is positively related to their adjustment.

16. There is no difference between the non-academic achievement of immigrant and English children.

17. Non-academic achievement is positively related to immigrant children's adjustment.

18. English children have higher attainment in English than immigrants.

19. Attainment in English is positively related to adjustment among immigrant children.

20. Fluency of spoken English is positively related to immigrant children's adjustment.

21. Immigrant children have a less extensive English vocabulary than English children.

22. Vocabulary is unrelated to adjustment of immigrants.

23. Adjustment of immigrant children is negatively related to their mental age.

24. I.Q. is positively relatedto adjustment among immigrant children.

25. Immigrant children are more extraverted than the English children.

26. There is no relationship between extraversion and adjustment of immigrant children.

27. Immigrant children are more interested in things than English children.

28. Interest in things is positively related to adjustment of immigrant children.

29. English children are more interested in people than immigrant children.

30. Interest in people is negatively related to the adjustment of immigrant children.

31. There is no difference in the extent to which English and immigrant children are interested in ideas.

32. Interest in ideas is unrelated to adjustment of immigrants.

33. Immigrant children have a more favourable attitude towards school than the English children.

34. Attitude towards school and adjustment are positively related amongst immigrant children.

35. There is no difference in the adjustment of children who do and do not aspire for a high-status job.

36. Immigrant children who expect to obtain a high-status job are better adjusted than those who do not have such expectations.

37. Immigrant children whose vocational aspirations and expectations are similar are better adjusted than those whose vocational aspirations and expectations are different.

38. Immigrant children living in multi-occupation houses have lower 'adjustment' than others.

39. Immigrant children who normally speak English at home are better 'adjusted' than others.

40. There is no difference between the 'adjustment' of immigrant children professing different religious faiths.

41. Friendship with an English child is positively related to 'adjustment' of immigrant children.

42. Immigrant children whose families are on visiting terms with the English are better 'adjusted' than others.

Chapter 7 discusses the various measuring instruments used in the survey to test these hypotheses.

CHAPTER 7

THE MEASURING INSTRUMENTS

The chart 7.1 shows how the variables in the present study were assessed.

The details of the various techniques of assessment are discussed later in the chapter.

Since the research involved studying children from different cultural backgrounds, it would seem useful to have a brief look at the problem of validity of cross-cultural research.

The advent of psychologists into the field of cross-cultural research is relatively recent. The field has long been dominated by anthropologists. During the thirties, cross-cultural work by psychologists was limited to the inter-racial comparison of cognitive ability. The general assumption of the equivalence of test stimuli for all races was held by most investigators. Thus, the variance of the intelligence test scores was accounted for by the difference in the 'intelligence' of the various races tested.

With the gradual acceptance of the idea that there is no such thing as a "culture-free test" the myth of the equivalence of the test stimuli was exploded. Inter-racial comparisons of intelligence on the basis of the Western-type test fell into disrepute. Cross-cultural studies were abandoned by psychologists except for the investigations of cross-cultural patterns of child rearing and their effect on personality development.

CHART 7.1

THE MEASURING INSTRUMENTS

VARIABLE	HOW ASSESSED
Adjustment	Specially Constructed scale
I.Q.	Raven Progressive Matrices
Vocabulary	Mill Hill Vocabulary scale
Extraversion	New Junior Maudsley Personality Inventory
Interests	Cotswold Personality Inventory
Attitude towards school	Cotswold Personality Inventory
Age	School Records
Academic Achievement	School Records
Non-academic achievement	School Records
Attainment in English	School Records
Age at the time of Emigration	Interview
Place of Birth	Interview
Length of residence in the U.K.	Interview
Intention of returning home	Interview
Living with one or both parents	Interview
Working mother?	Interview
Family size	Interview
Social Class	Interview
Vocational Aspirations	Interview
Vocational Expectations	Interview

Living conditions	Interview
Language spoken at home	Interview
Religious faith	Interview
Social Relations	Interview
Fluency of spoken English	Rating by the investigator

Psychologists have come under increasing criticism that their generalisations may apply only to the behaviour of rats, American school children and undergraduates, on whom the vast majority of experiments have been conducted. There is little evidence to show that findings of modern psychology are applicable to the general population in the Western societies, let alone to the peoples of the non-industrial cultures. But if psychologists are interested in studying *human behaviour*, cross-cultural studies would have to play a crucial role in determining the universal validity of *any* generalisation.

The last decade has seen a great upsurge in the number of cross-cultural studies undertaken by psychologists. "Many of the studies are insightful as they are incomplete, rewarding as they are inadequate" (Anderson, 1967). The problem faced by social psychologists engaged in such studies are numerous and their solution is not yet in sight. The general methodological and other problems of cross-cultural research is dealt with elsewhere (Bhatnagar, 1967; Frijda and Jahoda, 1966; Wesley and Karr, 1966; Berrien, 1967; Anderson, 1967). It is intended here to discuss the comparability of the data obtained

through employing equivalent procedures on children of different ethnic and cultural backgrounds.

EQUIVALENCE OF ORAL INSTRUCTIONS AND TEST ITEMS

Non-equivalence of oral instructions and test items to children of different cultural backgrounds would have seriously jeopodised the results of this study. It must be remembered, however, that all the children tested were attending school in England where English was the *only* medium of instruction. No children were included in the study unless it was evident from their responses that they understood the instructions clearly. Any child who was unable to communicate effectively in English was excluded from the study. Most of the items in the interview referred to factual information with little opportunity of misunderstanding. A child in an English school, provided he has mastered enough English to take part in a normal class, is hardly likely to misconstrue questions like whether his mother goes out to work, or how many brothers and sisters he has. And if he did, he must have misunderstood many other instructions given to him in the classroom - a fact unlikely to have gone unnoticed by the investigator who taught in the school for two years and was on the look out for such events.

The presumption of equivalence of oral instructions and interview, in this study, appears to be a valid one.

EQUIVALENCE OF STANDARDISED PAPER AND PENCIL TESTS

It is now generally accepted that there is no such thing as a "culture-free" test. Even in a

relatively straight forward matter of cross-cultural comparisons of attainments is not a matter of merely administering a set of standardised tasks (Harari and McDavid, 1967). Projective techniques, too, are culture-linked. "The use of projective techniques in the cross-cultural testing situation does not produce the equivalence of stimuli" (Lindzey, 1961). If "culture- free" tests could not be devised, the alternative is to give a "culture fair" test. This is a test which does not give children of any particular culture any advantage over others.

The presumption behind a "culture-fair" test is that all races have a similar spread of 'ability', 'temperament', 'personality traits' and 'attitudes'. Any test which discriminates in favour of any cultural group is unsuitable for use in a cross-cultural situation. This presumption may or may not be true, we have no way of verifying it. But immigrant children, in the present study, have arrived and will continue to live in England. While in England, in many ways, they are culturally handicapped. A culture fair test which tends to overlook or compensate for this cultural handicap would be invalid for this investigation which studies their 'adjustment' *in England*. Immigrant children's behaviour, 'abilities', 'aptitudes', 'attitudes' and 'interests' will be assessed, for probably the most significant decisions of their lives, by reference to the norms of the society in which they find themselves. Provided their linguistic comprehension is adequate, a test which was designed for and standardised on an English population

is, therefore, suitable for use with immigrant children.

EQUIVALENCE OF TEST SITUATION

The test situation comprises two main elements, the relationship between the experimenter and the testee, and the attitudes, expectations and response set of the testee to the test situation. Both are closely interlinked and would be discussed together. In a study of this kind rapport is of tremendous significance. The experimenter must not only have friendly relations with the subjects but also must clearly not be seen to be identified with or sympathetic towards any particular racial group. Biesheuvel (1958) feels that rapport is of greater significance in this type of study than technical or scaling requirements of measuring instruments.

The investigator taught in the school for a considerable time before conducting any research. Not until the investigator was accepted primarily as a teacher and not as a member of any special race, was any testing done. Only when children of different races began to discuss their racial attitudes freely and without hesitation, were they put into any test situation. An opportunity was given for anyone to opt out of the testing situation if they so wished. Although a number of immigrant children wanted to know the purpose of the test, on being given an explanation that it was anonymous and part of a scientific study, none withdrew.

It appears, therefore, that use of similar measuring instruments for immigrant as well as

English children is justified for the purpose of this study.

The assessment of the variables under study in the present investigation was done through paper and pencil tests, ratings, and interview.

The usefulness of the paper and pencil tests for this type of study is obvious. Measurement of 'intelligence', 'vocabulary', 'interests', 'extraversion' and 'adjustment' could be done in a standardised fashion only through paper and pencil tests. In these areas self-ratings, ratings of peers and teachers are known to be less reliable than the standardised tests. Individual testing would probably have been too time consuming and with the exception of intelligence testing, would have added little towards either reliability or validity of the measurements. The ever-present latent danger in the use of paper and pencil tests with children that they might not fully comprehend the instructions, was always kept in mind. As a general rule, before giving any test, instructions and practice items were discussed. Only when every testee knew what to do were they allowed to proceed.

The interview was employed to obtain mainly factual information.

ADJUSTMENT SCALE

The characteristics of an 'adjusted child' as discussed in Chapter 5 are that he must be,

(i) Socially acceptable
(ii) Personally satisfied
(iii) Have an objective self-concept; and
(iv) Free from anxiety.

No test was available to measure the construct of 'adjustment' so described. One or two examples would perhaps clarify the position. The Bristol Social Adjustment Guides (Stott, 1956) study 'social adjustment' of school children through behavioural observations by teachers and other adults. The total adjustment score is made up of unforthcomingness, depression, anxiety or uncertainity about adult interest and affection, hostility to adults, an attitude of unconcern for adult approval, anxiety for approval of and acceptance by other children, hostility to other children and restlessness. The adjustment questionnaire (Buros, 1965) arrives at the total personal adjustment score through a questionnaire filled by the testees. The total score is made up from eleven sub-scores - self-confidence, sense of personal worth, sense of freedom, recognition, social relationships, nervous symptoms, moral attitudes, family relationships, and emotionality. Both the tests quoted above are based on a different construct of 'adjustment' than the one employed here. In the same way the construct of other adjustment scales is also dissimilar to the one adopted in Chapter 5 (Buros 1965). It was, therefore decided to develop a scale to measure 'adjustment' as conceptualised in Chapter 5.

The construction of the 'adjustment scale' is described in detail in Appendix B. The scale was composed of four sub-scales to measure the four aspects of 'adjustment' construct i.e. 'social acceptability', 'personal satisfaction', 'objectivity of self-concept' and 'freedom from anxiety'.

SOCIAL ACCEPTABILITY SCALE

'Social acceptability' is defined as the degree of acceptance of the child by his peers in situations involving voluntary social interaction.

Every child rated and was rated by five of his randomly chosen classmates, on a three point scale.

SOCIAL ACCEPTABILITY SCALE

Instructions: This is a test to measure how children feel about each other. Please answer as quickly as possible. Do not spend a lot of time thinking about each question. Only your first impression is required. Put a tick if your answer is YES, a cross if your answer is NO and an O if you are not sure.

Would you like ---------- to be

1.	In your school	
2.	In your class	
3.	In same house as you at school	
4.	In your registration group	
5.	Next door neighbour where you live	
6.	Your class monitor	
7.	Your house captain	
8.	A prefect	
9.	Your games captain	
10.	In your school football or netball team	
11.	Your best friend	
12.	In the seat next to you in the classroom	
13.	In your drama group	
14.	Thrown out of London	
15.	Thrown out of England	

The items of the scale refer to the child's acceptability in a number of social situation relevant to schoolchildren. The situation may be classified into

(a) those involving a considerable degree of inter-personal interaction - items 4,5,11,12,13

(b) formal situations where social interaction may be kept to a minimum - items 1,2,3

(c) situations in which the testee is in a position of authority over the rater - items 6,7,8,9

(d) situations in which the testee's activities bring recognition to the school - item 10

(e) situations showing extreme rejection - items 14,15.

The yes, don't know and no responses on the positive items were given a weighting of 2, 1 and 0 respectively. The scoring of the negative items was reversed. The score of a child on this scale was computed by summing the weights of the rating received by him on all the items by five raters and dividing the total by five. Thus social acceptability scores represent the average ratings by five peers on this scale.

PERSONAL SATISFACTION

'Personal Satisfaction' is defined as the degree of satisfaction an individual derives from his perception of the self, his social environment and his personal relationships.

The personal satisfaction scale is based on self-ratings.

PERSONAL SATISFACTION SCALE

Instructions: This is a test to find out the way you feel. Given below are some statements which may or may not be true of you. If the statement is true, write T against the statement, if it is not true write F (for false). But if you are not sure write O. Answer quickly and do not spend a lot of time thinking about each question.

1. I am quite happy in my class
2. Our school is as good as any other Secondary Modern School
3. I would like to change my house at school
4. My father treats me well
5. I like my friends at school
6. I get on well with my mother
7. I get on well with teachers
8. I am unhappy with life
9. I wouldn't change places with anyone else
10. It would be a good idea if our family moved to another district
11. Teachers don't like me
12. I enjoy being in my registration group
13. I wish I had more friends
14. I enjoy being at school
15. I don't like living in this country

The scale is composed of items sampling satisfaction with

(a) the school - items 1,2,3,12,14

(b) family relationships - items 4,6

(c) peer-group relationships - items 5,13

(d) teacher-pupil relationships - items 7,11

(e) the self - items 8,9

(f) the neighbourhood - items 10,15

The yes, not sure and no responses on the positive

items were scored as 2, 1 and 0 respectively. The system of scoring on the negative items was reversed. The individual's total score on this scale was obtained by summing the weightings of his responses on all the items of this scale.

OBJECTIVITY OF SELF-CONCEPT SCALE

The 'objectivity of the self-concept' is defined as the degree of overlap between the perceived self or the 'self as *we* see it' and the objective self or the 'self as others see it'.

The 'objectivity of the self-concept' was measured by asking (a) the testee to assess himself on a series of items about himself and (b) five of his randomly selected peers to assess the testee on the same series of items, and compute the difference between the two sets of assessments.

OBJECTIVITY OF THE SELF-CONCEPT SCALE (SELF-RATING)

Instructions: This is a test to find out the way you feel. Given below are some statements which may or may not be true of you. If the statement is true of you write T against it, if it is not true of you write F (for false) against it. But if you are not sure write 0. Answer quickly and do not spend a lot of time thinking about each question.

1.	I am liked by my classmates	_____
2.	I am a failure	_____
3.	I usually like people	_____
4.	I am good at games	_____
5.	I am good at classwork	_____
6.	I am liked by teachers	_____
7.	My books are usually neat	_____
8.	I am usually 'picked on' by teachers	_____
9.	I am usually well-behaved	_____
10.	I am usually well-dressed	_____
11.	I am intelligent	_____
12.	I am a hard worker	_____
13.	My teachers trust me	_____
14.	I am helpful	_____
15.	I am an attractive person	_____

OBJECTIVITY OF THE SELF-CONCEPT SCALE (PEER RATING)

Instructions: This is a test to find out how children feel about each other. Please answer as quickly as possible. Do not spend a lot of time thinking about each question. Put a tick if the answer is YES, a cross if the answer is NO and a 0 if you are not sure.

Do you think that ----------

1.	is liked by his classmates	_____
2.	is a failure	_____
3.	Usually likes people	_____
4.	is good at games	_____
5.	is good at classwork	_____
6.	is liked by teachers	_____
7.	is in habit of keeping neat books	_____
8.	is usually 'picked on' by the teachers	_____
9.	is usually well-behaved	_____
10.	is usually well-dressed	_____
11.	is intelligent	_____
12.	is hard-worker	_____
13.	is trusted by teachers	_____
14.	is helpful	_____
15.	is an attractive person	_____

The items on the scale referred to the testee's

(a) physical appearance - items 10, 15

(b) performance - items 4,5,7

(c) relationship with teachers - items 6,8,13

(d) relationship with others - items 1,3,9,14

(e) abilities - items 11,12

(f) overall success - item 2

The items were scored +1 for a true or yes response, -1 for a false or no response and 0 for a not sure response. The self-rating scores on each item were then compared with the average peer-rating score on that item. The difference between the self and the peer rating, regardless of the positive or negative sign, was taken as the score of the individual on that item. The total score was then obtained by summing the scores on all the items of the scale. Since the lower the score the higher the objectivity of the self-concept, the total score was then subtracted from the maximum possible score of 30 to bring it in line with other adjustment sub-scales. Thus 30 minus the total score gave the score on the 'objectivity of self-concept' scale.

FREEDOM FROM ANXIETY SCALE

'Anxiety' is defined as an emotional state in which there is a vague generalised feeling of fear. The ability to accept threatening statements about oneself, which are most probably true, was employed as a criterion to assess 'anxiety'. The justification for using this criterion is discussed in Appendix B which also describes in detail the construction of all these sub-scales. The items in the

freedom from anxiety scale were chosen because they are probably true of all children. True, not sure and false response to the items were weighted 2, 1 and 0 respectively. The total freedom from anxiety score was obtained by summing the weighting of all the responses on the scale.

FREEDOM FROM ANXIETY SCALE

Instructions: This is a test to find out how children in this school behave. Given below are some statements which may or may not apply to you. If the statement is true of you write T against the statement, if it is not true of you write F (for false). But if you are not sure write 0. Answer quickly and do not spend a lot of time thinking about each question.

1. I sometimes disobey my parents _____
2. I sometimes swear _____
3. I sometimes copy or cheat on school work _____
4. I am sometimes rude to older people _____
5. I sometimes tell lies _____
6. I sometimes pretend to forget things I am supposed to do _____
7. I sometimes tell fibs to my class mates _____
8. I sometimes pretend to be sick to get out of things _____
9. I am sometimes unkind to younger children _____
10. I sometimes am lazy and won't do my work _____
11. I sometimes tell dirty jokes _____
12. I sometimes cheat in games _____
13. I sometimes misbehave at school _____
14. I sometimes answer back to my mother _____
15. I sometimes show off in front of other children _____

COMPOSITE ADJUSTMENT

Composite 'adjustment' scores were obtained by summing the scores on the four sub-scales. Since no clear guidelines were available to suggest the relative contribution of the four measures towards an individual's 'adjustment', it was tentatively decided to give the four sub-scales equal weightings. The standard deviations of the four scales were very similar, it was, therefore, considered unnecessary to convert the raw scores on the four sub-scales into standard scores for the purpose of summation. An individual's 'adjustment score' was thus arrived at by adding his scores on social acceptability, personal satisfaction, objectivity of self concept, and freedom from anxiety scales.

RELIABILITY OF THE SCALE

Table 7.1 gives the split half reliability of the four sub-scales. The figures given here have been corrected by the Spearman-Brown formula.

TABLE 7.1

RELIABILITIES OF THE ADJUSTMENT SCALES

Social Acceptability	.82
Personal Satisfaction	.85
Objectivity of self-concept	.78
Freedom from Anxiety	.81

For a personality test, the reliability figures appear to be satisfactory.

VALIDITY OF THE ADJUSTMENT SCALE

(a) CORRELATION BETWEEN SUB-SCALES

The adjustment construct as discussed in Chapter 5 postulated that the four sub-scales viz social acceptability, personal satisfaction, freedom from anxiety and objectivity of self-concept are behaviour domains which though different are nevertheless overlapping. This led to a prediction

TABLE 7.2

INTERCORRELATIONS OF THE ADJUSTMENT SUB-SCALES

VARIABLE	SA	PS	ANX	OS
SA		.44	.52	.58
PS	.44		.57	.48
ANX	.52	.57		.46
OS	.58	.48	.46	

SA = Social Acceptability
PS = Personal Satisfaction
ANX = Freedom from Anxiety
OS = Objectivity of self concept
All correlations are significant at 1% level

that the sub-scales would show a moderately high correlation but not very high correlation with each other. The obtained intercorrelations of the four sub-scales are reproduced in Table 7.2. The prediction was borne out.

The near equality of the correlations justifies equal weightings if the composite scores are regarded as the first principal components.

(b) CORRELATION WITH TEACHERS RATINGS

Five teachers at the school where the research was conducted were asked to rate 100 randomly selected children from the sample, on a five point adjustment scale. Their instructions were as follows:

Dear Colleague,

I am conducting a research to study the 'adjustment' of children at this school. Your experience and knowledge of these children could be a great help to me. I would be grateful if you would place the children in the attached list on a five-point scale ranging from extremely well-adjusted to extremely maladjusted. A well-adjusted person is defined as one who is

(a) socially acceptable to his peers,
(b) happy and satisfied,
(c) free from anxieties, and
(d) has a realistic appraisal of himself.

Please give your ratings using the following code.

Extremely well-adjusted	5
Moderately well-adjusted	4
Neither well-adjusted nor maladjusted	3
Moderately maladjusted	2
Extremely maladjusted	1

Yours faithfully,

J.K. BHATNAGAR

The mean ratings received by the children were correlated with their scores on the adjustment scale. A correlation of +0.48 significant at 1% level of confidence was obtained.

(c) INTERNAL CONSISTENCY

Table 7.3 shows the internal consistency coefficients of the four sub-scales determined by the Kuder-Richardson formula.

TABLE 7.3

INTERNAL CONSISTENCY CO-EFFICIENTS OF THE ADJUSTMENT SUB-SCALES

SUB-SCALE	INTERNAL CONSISTENCY CO-EFFICIENT
Social Acceptability	.54
Personal Satisfaction	.65
Freedom from Anxiety	.52
Objectivity of self-concept	.63

The internal-consistency figures were obtained on 200 randomly selected subjects included in the sample.

The internal consistency figures are lower than split-half reliability co-efficients. This is to be expected. The complexity of a test tends to artificially reduce the Kuder-Richardson measure (Helmstadter, 1966). In view of the fact that each sub-scale was measuring a relatively complex behaviour domain, the internal-consistency figures appear to be satisfactory. Each sub-test was also examined for its uni-dimensionality employing the Guttman scalogram analysis. Since it was hoped that the Guttman technique would be used to increase the uni-dimensionality of the sub-scales, the results are discussed in Appendix B where the construction of the adjustment scale is described.

(d) ADDITIONAL VALIDITY DATA ABOUT THE SOCIAL ACCEPTABILITY SCALE

The top and the bottom 50 children on the social acceptability scale were chosen for the observation of their friendly social interaction with other children. Each child was studied for his friendly

social contacts during one morning, afternoon and lunch breaks at school. The observations were conducted by the investigator in the playground without the knowledge of the child that was under observation. The number of friendly contacts between the child under observation and other children were recorded. No notes were taken on the spot but observations were noted immediately after the termination of each break period. Since observation in the playground was a normal part of the investigator's duties as a schoolteacher, recording of social interaction was done under completely natural conditions.

Table 7.4 shows the number of friendly social contacts of the two groups. A highly significant difference in favour of the children high on social acceptability scale was found.

TABLE 7.4

MEAN FRIENDLY SOCIAL CONTACTS

	MEAN	SD
Children high on Social Acceptability Scale	4.68	1.39
Children low on Social Acceptability Scale	0.64	0.31
Difference	4.04	0.20
The difference was significant at .001 level of confidence		

It appears that the Social Acceptability scale discriminates considerably between those who are and who are not socially acceptable to other children in behavioural terms.

ADDITIONAL VALIDITY DATA ABOUT THE 'FREEDOM FROM ANXIETY' SCALE

Since the 'Freedom from Anxiety' scales was of a disguised nature, it was thought advisable to correlate it with the teachers' ratings. Five teachers in the school were asked to rate 100 randomly selected testees on a five-point graphic scale for freedom from anxiety. The graphic method of rating was discussed with them and they were given the following definition of anxiety.

"Anxiety is an emotional state of vague generalised feeling of fear. An anxious individual may show any of these symptoms. He is tense, is unable to relax, blushes readily, is apprehensive about future events, has continuous worries and self-doubts, or bites nails".

The average teachers ratings correlated +0.48 with the 'freedom from anxiety' scale scores.

On the basis of the evidence cited above the test appears to be measuring the construct of 'adjustment' as outlined in Chapter 5.

INTELLIGENCE

The testing of intelligence in a cross-cultural situation raises the problem of the validity of Western-type tests for assessing cognitive abilities of children from non-Western cultures. Vernon (1966b) suggests that "the group of skills which we refer to as intelligence is a European and American middle class invention: something which seems to be intimately bound up with puritanical values, with repression of instinctual responses and emphasis on responsibility,

initiative, persistence, and efficient workmanship. It is a kind of intelligence which is especially well adapted for scientific analysis, for control and exploitation of the physical world, for large scale and long term planning and carrying out materialistic objectives. It has also led to the growth of complex social institutions such as nations, armies, industrial firms, school systems, and universities, though it has been notably less successful in working out solutions of group rivalries or providing harmonious personal adjustment than have the intelligences of some more primitive cultures. Other cultures have evolved intelligences which are better adapted than ours for coping with problems of agriculture and tribal living. The aboriginal in the Australian desert and the Eskimo in the far North have many schemata far more efficient than our own. Again sub-cultures such as our own lower working class or rural groups, develop rather different intelligence". In another paper Vernon (1965) argues that since the developing nations are striving to achieve the Western-type technological advancement, and that the Western-type Intelligence tests are known to correlate with the abilities needed for such technical achievement, the use of the Western-type tests is entirely legitimate for the purpose of prediction of abilities needed to build up a viable technological civilization. Irwin (1966) reviewed the research tools for assessing intelligence and attainment in Africa and came to the conclusion that the Western frames of reference are

useful in analysing the test results of African population. After using the Cattell Culture-free test in Iraq, Alzobai (1964) concluded that objective type of tests were completely alien to Iraqi children and the superiority of one group over another on these tests represented nothing more than the differences in the ability to handle this type of test. Most children in the present study, however, had been living in England and studying in an English school for a period of time. It cannot, therefore, be argued that they were new to the objective type test. Moreover, whether the Western-type tests are valid instruments for assessment of immigrant children's ability depends on the use that is made of the test results. If the intelligence tests are employed to study relationship of general ability with other factors, or when they are used in a prognostic capacity, their use appears to be legitimate. There is evidence to suggest that the factorial pattern of abilities, derived from test scores on the Western-type of intelligence test, is similar in both Western and non-Western cultures (Vernon, 1965a; Guthrie, 1963). But the use of the Western-type test for the purpose of comparing the average ability of one culture with another appears to be invalid. Children from non-Western cultures almost invariably do worse on these tests (Alleyn, 1962; Ferron, 1965). This is to be expected. The intelligence test represents sampling of both g_f and g_c for the Western children while for others it represents a sampling of g_f, and de-

pending upon their contact with Western culture, partial sampling of g_c.

The comparison of English and immigrant children's intelligence test results, therefore, would determine the extent of cultural deprivation that the latter suffer. It would not indicate the difference between the 'educational potential' of the two groups. It thus appears that the use of Western-type tests with immigrant children is legitimate provided that the difference between their performance is not taken as indicative of the difference between the 'educational potential' of the two groups. Ferron (1965) has come to a similar conclusion about the use of Western-type of tests in Africa.

The non-verbal tests seemed to recommend themselves for intelligence testing in this study. Verbal tests put a very high premium on the verbal ability which could be expected to be the largest source of variance not only between the English and immigrant children, but between the two groups of immigrants. The Cypriots do not have English as their mother tongue. A non-verbal test is more suitable for use with them. It is less likely to discriminate against the recently arrived immigrant child, and was, therefore considered suitable for this study.

The Raven Progressive Matrices (1960) is one of the most extensively used non-verbal intelligence tests in all parts of the globe. After discussing various tests that could be employed to assess

cognitive abilities in the African context, Bieshuevel (1962) came to the conclusion that the Raven Progressive Matrices is relatively free of educational content and that it could most usefully be employed with African children. Vernon (1965) found the test to be one of the best general ability predictors in the West Indian situation. Venables (1963) found that the test correlated highly with the examination results of the day release students in Britain. McArthur and Elley (1963) tried nine promising culture-reduced tests in an attempt to measure the educational potential of Canadian Indian children. They concluded "The results supported the hypothesis that it is possible to measure a broad component of intellectual ability with significantly less culture bias than is found in the conventional intelligence test. Raven Progressive Matrices proved the most useful test in battery since it showed high 'g' loading, consistent and minimal relation with socio-economic status, no evidence of culture-bias by items and moderate correlation with school marks". The Matrices has also been found to be efficient with sub-normal children (Orme, 1961), hospital patients (Bingham, et. al., 1966) and university students (Yates, 1964). After reviewing the researches which have employed the Raven Progressive Matrices, Orme (1961) came to the conclusion "Over many years the standard Matrices test has proved to be one of the most homogeneous measures of what is called 'g' factor, fluid ability, non-verbal performance - and possibly Hebb's intelligence A". In view of this discussion the

Raven Progressive Matrices was employed in this study.

The Raven Progressive Matrices consists of 60 items divided into five sets of 12 items each. The items in each set are progressively more difficult and each set becomes progressively more difficult than the preceding one. The figures in all items are large and clear. The test manual reports test-retest reliabilities ranging from 0.83 to 0.93 on different age groups. Although the test manual (Raven, 1960) does not provide any time limit, in view of the practical difficulties, a maximum of 45 minutes was allowed for the administration of this test. In actual fact, almost all children had finished the test before the 45 minutes were up.

The test scores were converted into percentiles by reference to the test norms provided in the test manual. The percentiles were converted to I.Q. scores by using the percentile-I.Q. conversion graph (Vernon, 1956 p.108).

VOCABULARY

The Mill Hill Vocabulary Scale, Form 1 Senior, was used to assess this variable. This scale has been extensively used in conjunction with the Raven Progressive Matrices. The test consists of 68 stimulus words divided into two sets of 34 words each. In Set A the testee is asked to write, in a few words, the meaning of the stimulus word. In Set B the testee selects the synonym of the stimulus word from a list of six alternatives. The test guide (Raven, 1962) quotes test-retest reliabilities rang-

ing from 0.87 to 0.98. Although the test manual does not set any time limit, in view of the practical difficulties, a maximum of 30 minutes was allowed for the completion of the test.

EXTRAVERSION

Since Eysenck's definition of 'extraversion' has been adopted for the purpose of this thesis, the New Junior Maudsley Personality Inventory (Furneaux and Gibson, 1966) which also employs that definition as its basis, was used to assess 'extraversion'. This test consists of 64 items. The testee is asked to indicate whether he feels "same" or "different" to the feeling expressed in each item. Of these 64 items, 22 comprise the Extraversion Scale while the others form part of the Neuroticism and Lie scales. The scores on the latter two scales were disregarded.

At the time of its adoption in the present work, the NJMPI was too recent for the publication of any reliability or validity figures. However, for the JMPI, of which the NJMPI is an improved version, test-retest reliabilities ranging from 0.74 to 0.88 have been reported (Furneaux and Gibson, 1966). The split-half reliability of the old test, calculated by the Guttman method, was 0.80 (Furneaux and Gibson, 1966). The internal consistency of the scale was reported as ranging from 0.42 - 0.52 (Furneaux and Gibson, 1961; Costello and Brachman, 1962). Nye (1962) found a correlation of 0.90 between the JMPI and the EPI adult extraversion scale. Williams (1963) found a correlation of 0.51 - 0.54 between the JMPI and the EPI.

Objections might be raised that the test may not be measuring "extraversion" among immigrant children because of their different cultural background. At this point it may be worth stating the author's basic stand on this issue. *All psychological traits, measurements and predictions are culture-linked.* It is wrong to ask "How extraverted is A?". Instead, the question ought to be "How extraverted is A in the context of a given culture?". It is indeed possible for an individual to be considered highly extraverted relative to say, Indian culture but moderately introverted in context of English society. An individual does not possess a trait. A trait simply denotes a person standing on a dimension of feelings and behaviour which tend to be highly correlated with each other. The NJMPI samples an area of feeling and behaviour on the extraversion-introversion dimension. The object of the present investigation is to discover whether children of different ethnic backgrounds differ with respect to their standing on this dimension and if this area of thought and action is in anyway related to their 'adjustment' in the context of English culture. The use of NJMPI in this study, thus, appears to be justified.

INTERESTS AND ATTITUDE

In view of the discussion in Chapter 6, Cotswold Personality Inventory PAI was employed for the assessment of 'interests' and 'attitude towards school'.

The interest test consists of 66 items in all - 22 referring to each type of interest. The testee is

asked to indicate his preference for each item on a five point scale. The test manual (Fleming, 1960) quotes split-half reliability co-efficient ranging from 0.81 to 0.90 for the test. Follow-up studies have shown that interest in things, as measured by the test, correlates moderately with later technical competence in Engineering drawing and proficiency in Art while the interest in ideas shows a moderate correlation with the learning of shorthand (Howard, 1945; Pasricha, 1949). The test has been found useful in selection at the age of 13+ for allocation to technical, commercial and art schools (Fleming, 1960).

The attitude scale consists of 20 items selected through the Thurstone-Chave technique. The testees are asked to state their preference for each item on a five point scale. Morgan (1951) found a split-half reliability co-efficient of 0.93 for the attitude towards school scale.

ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

It was customary at the school where the study was conducted, to rate each pupil on a five point scale for each academic subject studied by him and put this rating in his annual progress report. Thus all pupils were rated on a five point scale by their teachers. In the instruction issued to the staff it was emphasised that the ratings should be given bearing the standard of the whole age group in mind. Thus the teachers' ratings were relative to the age group at school and not to the streams to which children were allocated. Many of the ratings were

based on the written examination results.

Academic achievement was assessed by summing the grades (ratings) received by the testees in five school subjects, namely, Religious Education, Mathematics, Science, Geography and History. The choice of subjects included in the list was governed by the fact that these were the only academic subjects taken by most testees. A few pupils in the 4th, 5th and 6th years did not study all these subjects. Some, for example, were taking Physics and Chemistry as separate subjects but were not studying Geography. In such cases, the academic achievement was determined by using the following formula

$$\text{Academic Achievement} = \frac{\text{Sum of rating received by the testee in all his academic subjects}}{\text{No. of Academic subjects taken}} \times 5$$

English was not included here because it was studied as a separate variable.

ATTAINMENT IN ENGLISH

Attainment in English was assessed in the same way as academic achievement. The teachers' ratings on a five point scale were used as the attainment in English score.

NON-ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

The non-academic achievement was assessed by summing the number of prizes won by the testee in sports, swimming or boxing at school. If a pupil was a member of any of his school teams, at any time, it was counted as a prize.

FLUENCY OF SPOKEN ENGLISH

The testees were rated for their fluency of spoken English, on a five point scale, by the investigator who knew them well.

THE INTERVIEW

A semi-structured interview was employed to get the information about the socio-personal background of the testees. The interview started with an explanation that the investigator was conducting a scientific research to find out more about children and to see if they are facing any special difficulties at school. The interviewees were told that their co-operation may be of help to themselves and to other children. They were informed that the interview was entirely on a voluntary basis and they could opt out if they so wished. They were then specifically asked if they objected to being interviewed. None of the children, in fact, so objected. The interview schedule is reproduced in Appendix D. The questions asked in the interview to assess various variables are given on the following page. If the question in the interview schedule did not elicit the required information, supplementary questions were sometimes asked.

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

*In which town were you born? - *(Place of Birth)*

*When did you come to England? - *(Age of emigration/ Length of residence in the U.K.)*

Are both your parents here? - *(Living with*

Are you living with both your parents? - *both parents)*

What does your father do for his living? - *(Social class)*

*What did he do back home? - *(Social class in the home country)*

Does your mother go out to work? - *(Working mother)*

Have you any brothers or sisters? How many? - *(Family size)*

Do other families live in the same house as you? - *(Multi-occupation housing)*

*Do you think that you will go back home, not just for visit but for good? - *(Intention of returning home)*

*What language do you generally speak at home? - *(Language spoken at home)*

What is your religion? - *(Religion)*

Could you name the boys and girls you regard as your friends? - *(Social relations)*

Who among these are your best friends? - (if any of the children named as a friend or a best friend is not at school, enquire about his details, especially nationality) - *(Social relations)*

*Do your parents ever visit an English family? - *(Social relations)*

Does any English family visit you? -(Social relations)*

What job you think you deserve to get when you leave school? - *(Vocational aspirations)*

What job do you think you will actually get when you leave school? - *(Vocational expectation)*

The questions marked * were asked from immigrant children only.

SOCIAL CLASS

The parental occupation was chosen as the basis of the assessment of social class. Moser and Hall (1954) Social Class Scale and not the census groupings were used in the study. Their groups A, B and C (professional, managerial and clerical workers) were classified as middle class and groups D and E (skilled and semi-skilled workers) as working class.

ADMINISTRATION OF THE TESTS

(a) PAPER AND PENCIL TESTS

All paper and pencil tests were administered by the investigator himself. Before the testing session a brief introduction was given to the effect that the investigator was engaged in a scientific study to find out how children at school feel and behave. Children were told that although they had to write their names on the answer sheets, this was only to identify all their tests because more than one testing session would be required. Considerable stress was put on the declaration that under no circumstances their parents, the headmaster, or other teachers would see the test results. Once all testing was done every child would be given a code number and even the investigator would not know which test result belonged to which child. The explanation seemed to satisfy most children. Although opportunity to opt out was given to all children at all testing sessions, in fact, only three English children out of a total of over 600 children tested chose to exercise that option. None of the immigrant children refused to

participate. Needless to add, the procedure of code numbering was actually carried out. Since the entire school was tested, the suspicion of the immigrant children was not aroused that they were being subjected to any special study or testing.

In addition to the written instructions, the procedure for taking each test was discussed orally and examples explained on the blackboard. The testees were told to ask if they did not understand or had difficulty with, any item. In case of reported difficulty with individual items, full explanation was provided for all tests except the intelligence and the vocabulary tests where general procedure only was explained. Even when the testees did not ask, care was taken to ensure that everyone understood whatwas to be done in each test by examining if all the testees had finished the non-cognitive tests and had finished at least part of the cognitive tests. The testees whose written English was known to be poor, were questioned orally about one or two items in each test, and their oral and written responses compared. In case of discrepancies, the procedure was further explained and subjects retested. Spotting those who say that they understand something which they are, in fact, unsure about, is a normal part of a schoolteacher's duty. Ensuring that everyone understood the test procedures was a relatively easy task for the investigator-schoolteacher. Thorough familiarity with each child was of very great assistance here. On the whole, the testees reported as having enjoyed the testing sessions.

Of the six scales employed, only two, the intelligence and attitude scales, had a theoretical mean. The theoretical mean of the intelligence scale in terms of the I.Q. was 100. The mean I.Q. of the English sample tested turned out to be 102.34. It appears that the intelligence scale scores were in accordance with the expectations. The mean attitude towards school score for the entire sample, on the other hand, was found to be 1.85 standard deviations lower than the theoretical mean. (Theoretical mean 40.0, Obtained mean 25.0 SD = 8.2). The difference was significant at 5% level of confidence. This too was to be expected. The Cotswold Personality Inventory, which includes the attitude towards school scale, was standardised on a grammar and technical school population. The social status of the different types of schools is radically different. A child *passes* to go to a grammar school or a technical school, the *failures* come to the secondary modern school because they were not good enough for the grammar school. The grammar school education opens the doors for entry into the universities and the professions, the secondary modern school education is usually a barrier to such entry. The attitude towards school of secondary modern pupils could, therefore, be expected to be significantly more unfavourable than grammar or technical school pupils.

(b) THE INTERVIEW

The interview was normally conducted in a classroom during the school breaks, and either just before

or after the school hours. No other person except the interviewee and the investigator was present at the time of the interview. The interview was usually carried out as laid down by the interview schedule but supplementary explanations were given when they were asked by the interviewee or considered necessary by the investigator. Notes were taken on the spot. An explanation similar to the one given at the time of the testing sessions about the purpose of the interview was provided. Opportunity to opt out of the interview was given individually to each child tested, but none withdrew. As a part of the normal duties, schoolteachers often ask similar questions in order to become familiar with the children's background. The interview situation, therefore, was not unnaturally artificial. An effort was made to keep the interview appear as informal as possible and the interview was conducted more as a friendly chat than as a questioning session.

The next four chapters analyse the data obtained by testing the children through using the instruments outlined in this chapter.

CHAPTER 8

ANALYSIS I: THE ADJUSTMENT PATTERNS

This chapter analyses the 'adjustment' scores of the various groups in an attempt to study the differences between the 'adjustment' of English children and the two immigrant groups. The 'adjustment' scores of the various groups tested are set out in table 8.1.

Table 8.2 analyses the significance of the differences between the mean 'adjustment' scores of the various groups. The English children were found to be the most adjusted of the groups studied, followed by the Cypriots, while the West Indians obtained the lowest mean score. All the differences between the three groups were significant. The difference between the West Indian and the English group was found to be large. The mean Cypriot score fell between the mean score of the other two groups, though it was much nearer to the West Indian than the English position. When the scores of the three groups were contrasted separately for boys and girls, a similar pattern was obtained, except that the differences between the Cypriots and the West Indians, though in favour of the Cypriots, in both boys and girls, fell below the 5% level of significance. Evidence was thus found to support the hypothesis that "Immigrant children are less well adjusted than English children".

TABLE 8.1

MEAN 'ADJUSTMENT' SCORES

GROUP	MEAN	SD	N
West Indian Boys	40.74	14.66	90
West Indian Girls	43.23	13.88	84
All West Indians	41.94	14.34	174
Cypriot Boys	47.33	18.82	38
Cypriot Girls	47.19	17.81	38
All Cypriots	47.26	18.32	76
English Boys	61.01	19.44	100
English Girls	59.65	21.66	100
All English children	60.33	20.59	200

TABLE 8.2

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE MEAN 'ADJUSTMENT' SCORES

GROUPS CONTRASTED	DIFFERENCE	SIGNIFICANCE
All English vs All West Indians	18.39	1%
English Boys vs West Indian Boys	20.27	1%
English Girls vs West Indian Girls	16.42	1%
All English vs All Cypriots	13.07	1%
English Boys vs Cypriot Boys	13.68	1%
English Girls vs Cypriot Girls	12.46	1%
All Cypriots vs All West Indians	5.32	5%
Cypriot Boys vs West Indian Boys	6.59	NS
Cypriot Girls vs West Indian Girls	3.96	NS

The results reported above present a rather alarming picture. The gap between the adjustment of the immigrant and the English groups is distressingly large. Unless some fairly drastic action is taken swiftly, the schools in England seem to be in danger of producing immigrant children, who as a group, are far more maladjusted than their English counterparts.

The composite adjustment scores were then analysed separately for each sub-scale.

SOCIAL ACCEPTABILITY

Table 8.3 sets out the mean scores and the standard deviations of the various groups on the 'Social Acceptability' scale.

TABLE 8.3

MEAN 'SOCIAL ACCEPTABILITY' SCORES

GROUP	MEAN	SD
West Indian Boys	10.88	4.36
West Indian Girls	11.29	4.66
All West Indian Children	11.08	4.52
Cypriot Boys	13.35	7.08
Cypriot Girls	13.78	5.39
All Cypriot Children	13.56	6.23
English Boys	15.18	6.20
English Girls	14.51	6.77
All English Children	14.84	6.50

The differences between the groups are analysed in table 8.4. The English group was found to be the most acceptable, among the school children tested, the Cypriots came second and the West Indian group the least acceptable.

TABLE 8.4

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE MEAN 'SOCIAL ACCEPTABILITY' SCORES

GROUPS CONTRASTED	DIFFERENCE	SIGNIFICANCE
All English vs All West Indians	3.76	1%
English Boys vs West Indian Boys	4.30	1%
English Girls vs West Indian Girls	3.22	1%
All English vs All Cypriots	1.28	NS
English Boys vs Cypriot Boys	1.83	NS
English Girls vs Cypriot Girls	0.73	NS
All Cypriots vs All West Indians	2.48	1%
Cypriot Boys vs West Indian Boys	2.47	5%
Cypriot Girls vs West Indian Girls	2.49	5%

The differences between the West Indian and the other two groups were found to be significant but not the differences between the Cypriot and the English groups. When scores for boys and girls were analysed separately, a similar pattern of differences between the three groups emerged.

Hypothesis No.2 was "Immigrant children are less socially acceptable than English children". Conclusive evidence was found in support of the

hypothesis as far as the West Indian immigrant children were concerned. The trend for Cypriot children was also in the direction suggested by the hypothesis but the evidence was inconclusive.

"Social acceptability", as measured in this study, seems to run along national-racial lines with English children probably viewed as the 'in-group' and the immigrants as the 'out-group', the Cypriots being not such a distant 'out-group' as the West Indians.

PERSONAL SATISFACTION

Table 8.5 gives the mean scores and the standard deviations of the three groups on the "personal satisfaction" scale. The differences between the various groups are analysed in the table 8.6.

TABLE 8.5

MEAN 'PERSONAL SATISFACTION' SCORES

GROUP	MEAN	SD
West Indian Boys	12.31	5.33
West Indian Girls	12.01	5.25
All West Indians	12.17	5.29
Cypriot Boys	11.68	5.39
Cypriot Girls	11.58	6.16
All Cypriots	11.63	5.78
English Boys	14.74	6.22
English Girls	14.81	6.79
All English Children	14.78	6.51

The English children tested proved to be far more satisfied with life than either the West Indians or the Cypriots. The differences between the mean English and the two immigrant group scores were found

to be highly significant. Of the two immigrant groups, the West Indians were happier with life as they found it. The difference between the two groups, however, was not statistically reliable at the 5% level. A similar pattern of differences was observed when the scores of the sexes in each group were analysed separately.

TABLE 8.6

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE MEAN 'PERSONAL SATISFACTION' SCORES

GROUPS CONTRASTED	DIFFERENCE	SIGNIFICANCE
All English vs All West Indians	2.61	1%
English Boys vs West Indian Boys	2.43	1%
English Girls vs West Indian Girls	2.80	1%
All English vs All Cypriots	3.15	1%
English Boys vs Cypriot Boys	3.06	1%
English Girls vs Cypriot Girls	3.23	1%
All Cypriots vs All West Indians	-0.54	NS
Cypriot Boys vs West Indian Boys	-0.63	NS
Cypriot Girls vs West Indian Girls	-0.43	NS

Conclusive evidence to support the hypothesis No.3 was found. Hypothesis 3 was that "English children are more personally satisfied than immigrant

children". It is difficult to explain why the West Indians, though less socially acceptable, were more personally satisfied than the Cypriots. The difference between the two groups of immigrant children, however, was small and statistically non-significant. It need not detain us here.

ANXIETY

Table 8.7 sets out the scores of the various groups on the 'freedom from anxiety' scale. The differences between the various groups are analysed in table 8.8.

The West Indians proved to be the most anxiety ridden of the three groups tested while the English children showed the least amount of anxiety. The Cypriot mean fell in a position between the English and the West Indian means though it was somewhat nearer to the West Indian than the English mean score. The differences between the three groups were found to be significant at 1% level. On separate analysis of each sex, a similar pattern was obtained, except that the difference between the West Indian and Cypriot girls fell below the 5% level of significance. Hypothesis No.4 that "English children are less anxious than immigrant children" was thus confirmed.

TABLE 8.7

MEAN 'FREEDOM FROM ANXIETY' SCALE SCORES

GROUP	MEAN	SD
West Indian Boys	8.40	4.59
West Indian Girls	10.79	4.91
All West Indians	9.55	4.75
Cypriot Boys	11.30	5.35
Cypriot Girls	12.15	5.99
All Cypriots	11.73	5.69
English Boys	15.06	6.71
English Girls	14.99	6.23
All English Children	15.03	6.47

TABLE 8.8

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE MEAN 'FREEDOM FROM ANXIETY' SCORES

GROUPS CONTRASTED	DIFFERENCE	SIGNIFICANCE
All English vs All West Indians	5.48	1%
English Boys vs West Indian Boys	6.66	1%
English Girls vs West Indian Girls	4.20	1%
All English vs All Cypriots	3.30	1%
English Boys vs Cypriot Boys	3.76	1%
English Girls vs Cypriot Girls	2.84	5%
All Cypriots vs All West Indians	2.18	1%
Cypriot Boys vs West Indian Boys	2.90	1%
Cypriot Girls vs West Indian Girls	1.36	NS

OBJECTIVITY OF SELF-CONCEPT

The scores of the various groups on the scale measuring 'objectivity of the self-concept' are set out in table 8.9.

TABLE 8.9

MEAN 'OBJECTIVITY OF SELF-CONCEPT' SCORES

GROUP	MEAN	SD
West Indian Boys	9.15	3.80
West Indian Girls	9.14	3.63
All West Indians	9.15	3.72
Cypriot Boys	11.00	4.65
Cypriot Girls	9.68	4.42
All Cypriots	10.34	4.58
English Boys	16.03	6.20
English Girls	15.34	5.84
All English children	15.68	6.03

The differences between the mean scores of the various groups are analysed in the Table 8.10. The now familiar order of English, Cypriot and West Indian mean scores with the West Indians at the lower end was repeated on this variable. The Cypriot mean score was much closer to the West Indian than the English score, the differences between the various groups being significant. When the results were analysed for each sex separately, a similar pattern emerged, except that the difference between West Indian and Cypriot girls fell below 5% level of significance.

TABLE 8.10

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE MEAN 'OBJECTIVITY OF THE SELF-CONCEPT' SCORES

GROUPS CONTRASTED	DIFFERENCE	SIGNIFICANCE
All English vs All West Indians	6.53	1%
English Boys vs West Indian Boys	6.88	1%
English Girls vs West Indian Girls	6.20	1%
All English vs All Cypriots	5.34	1%
English Boys vs Cypriot Boys	5.03	1%
English Girls vs Cypriot Girls	5.66	1%
All Cypriots vs All West Indians	1.19	5%
Cypriot Boys vs West Indian Boys	1.85	5%
Cypriot Girls vs West Indian Girls	0.54	NS

Of all the scales from which the composite adjustment score was derived, the t-ratios of the differences in the 'objectivity of the self-concept', were found to be the largest. It would appear that the discrepancy between 'self as I see it' and 'self as others see it' was much greater among immigrant children. They were unsure of their identity. Evidence was found to support hypothesis No.5. Hypothesis 5 stated that "English children have a more objective self-concept than immigrant children". The

results are hardly surprising. The cues employed in the process of person perception in different cultures are likely to be different. Having moved across cultures, immigrant children are placed in a seriously handicapped position when gauging reactions of children from other cultures towards themselves. A difference between 'perceived-self' and 'real self' thus results.

SEX DIFFERENCES IN ADJUSTMENT

Table 8.11 analyses the sex differences in the adjustment patterns of the various groups.

TABLE 8.11

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE ADJUSTMENT SCORES OF BOYS AND GIRLS

VARIABLE	CYPRIOT	ENGLISH	WEST IND.
	BOYS vs. GIRLS	BOYS vs. GIRLS	BOYS vs. GIRLS
Composite adjustment	0.14	1.36	-2.49
Social acceptability	-0.43	0.67	-0.41
Personal Satisfaction	0.10	-0.07	0.30
Freedom from anxiety	-0.85	0.07	-2.39*
Objectivity of self-concept	1.32	0.69	0.01

*Denotes significance at 5% level.

West Indian girls were found to be significantly more anxious than West Indian boys. Apart from this, no other significant sex differences emerged. Adjustment appears to be related to variables other than sex.

CHAPTER 9

ANALYSIS II: BACKGROUND VARIABLES AND SOCIAL RELATIONS

This chapter attempts to analyse some of the background factors and social relations of immigrant children and their families, for their relationship with 'adjustment'.

AGE

No significant relationship between chronological age and 'adjustment', or any of its sub-scales, was found in the three groups studied. The correlation matrix obtained is set out in table 9.1.

A low and insignificant correlation was obtained in all the groups. On analysis of the correlations according to each sub-scale, a fairly low, insignificant and negative correlation was obtained between chronological age, and 'social acceptability', 'personal satisfaction', 'freedom from anxiety' and 'objectivity of self-concept' in Cypriot and English boys and girls. Conclusive evidence was not found to support the hypothesis that "chronological age is negatively related to immigrant children's adjustment".

Although the evidence discussed here is inconclusive the negative correlations obtained in the sample are, nevertheless, interesting. Since this study was conducted in a secondary modern school, the negative correlations may be explained by the hypothesis that with increase in age, children become increasingly aware of the inferior status of the

secondary modern school in society and inferior career prospects for its pupils. This may lead to an increase in anxiety and dissatisfaction all round among secondary modern pupils and hence a gradual lowering of their adjustment. Since career prospects become increasingly important as children grow older, a negative correlation between chronological age and adjustment may be expected. It is somewhat surprising that no such negative relationship is discernible among the West Indian Boys.

TABLE 9.1

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN ADJUSTMENT AND AGE IN THE VARIOUS GROUPS

GROUP	CA	SA	PS	ANX	OS
West Indian Boys	15	08	15	13	11
West Indian Girls	00	10	-14	-02	12
All West Indians	07	08	02	06	11
Cypriot Boys	-12	-07	-09	-16	-06
Cypriot Girls	-10	-04	-11	-10	-07
All Cypriots	-11	-06	-10	-14	-06
English Boys	-16	-11	-15	-14	-11
English Girls	-13	-12	-12	-13	-03
All English	-14	-12	-13	-14	-07

CA = Composite Adjustment
SA = Social Acceptability
PS = Personal Satisfaction
ANX = Freedom from Anxiety
OS = Objectivity of self-concept

All decimal points have been omitted from the table.

AGE OF EMIGRATION

87.33% of the West Indians and 72.06% of the Cypriots were born abroad, and emigrated to England before attaining the secondary school age

while 13.2% of the Cypriots and 19.9% of the West Indians had come before the age of 5. Children seem to have emigrated to England at all ages and no significant pattern emerges.

TABLE 9.2

AGE OF EMIGRATION TO BRITAIN

AGE	WEST INDIAN		CYPRIOT	
	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS
Under 5	12(16 %)	18(23.7%)	3(8.6%)	6(18.2%)
" 6	17(22.7%)	8(10.5%)	3(8.6%)	2(6.1%)
" 7	14(18.7%)	12(15.7%)	4(11.4%)	5(15.2%)
" 8	5(6.7%)	7(9.2%)	6(17.1%)	1(3.0%)
" 9	10(13.3%)	7(9.2%)	3(8.6%)	1(3.0%)
" 10	9(12.0%)	6(7.9%)	3(8.6%)	3(9.1%)
" 11	3(4.0%)	4(5.3%)	5(14.2%)	4(12.1%)
" 12	1(1.3%)	5(6.6%)	1(2.9%)	4(12.1%)
" 13	0	4(5.3%)	3(8.6%)	2(6.1%)
" 14	1(1.3%)	1(1.3%)	2(5.7%)	2(6.1%)
Over 14	3(4.0%)	4(5.3%)	2(5.7%)	3(9.1%)
TOTAL	75	76	35	33

The age of arrival in England was correlated with the 'composite adjustment' scores. A low negative and insignificant correlation was obtained in all the groups. The age of arrival of Cypriot girls was found to have a moderate negative correlation with the objectivity of self-concept. With this exception, no significant correlation was obtained between the age of arrival and any of the four adjustment sub-scales. Although the relationship was found to be consistently negative, the correlations were very small and insignificant. Hypothesis No.7 which stated that "Age at the time of immigration is negatively related to adjustment in immigrant children"

must be rejected. It may be mentioned that as discussed in Chapter 1, the London Head Teachers Association (1965) had considered the full-range of experience in the infant and junior school of crucial importance in the adjustment of immigrant children. This view would lead to a prediction that age at the time of emigration is negatively related to adjustment. The data gathered in this study does not support the view.

TABLE 9.3

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN AGE AT THE TIME OF EMIGRATION AND ADJUSTMENT

GROUP	SA	PS	ANX	OS	Total Adjust.
West Indian Boys	-02	-08	01	-04	-05
West Indian Girls	-11	07	-01	-11	-04
All West Indians	-06	-01	-01	-07	-04
Cypriot Boys	-15	-06	-04	16	-05
Cypriot Girls	-11	-20	-09	-42**	-24
All Cypriots	-13	-13	-06	-13	-14

Decimal points have been omitted.

** Denotes significance at 1% level.

PLACE OF BIRTH

Table 9.4 analyses the place of birth of immigrants.

TABLE 9.4

IMMIGRANT CHILDREN BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH

GROUP	BORN ABROAD: N	%	BORN HERE: N	%
All West Indians	151	86.8	23	13.2
West Indian Boys	75	83.3	15	16.7
West Indian Girls	76	90.5	8	9.5
All Cypriots	68	89.5	8	10.5
Cypriot Boys	35	92.1	3	7.9
Cypriot Girls	33	86.8	5	13.2
All Immigrants	219	87.6	31	12.4

The number of immigrant children born in England was too small for a statistical comparison of their mean 'adjustment' scores. However, in view of the finding that the age at the time of emigration is unrelated to 'adjustment', it may be presumed that no significant difference between the 'adjustment' of immigrant children born here and born abroad, exists.

LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN BRITAIN

Table 9.5 analyses the length of residence in Britain of immigrant children at the time of study. The length of residence was correlated with the 'adjustment' scores; the matrix obtained is reproduced in table 9.6. No significant correlation with either the composite adjustment scores or any of the adjustment sub-scales was obtained. No evidence was found to support the hypothesis No.8 that "Length of residence in Britain is positively related to adjustment of immigrant children".

It has generally been supposed that adjustment of immigrant children is a matter of time. As immigrant children live and grow in English society and attend multi-racial schools in England, they would acquire English norms and value patterns and would generally become adjusted to English society. The results of this study do not support such optimism, they suggest that 'adjustment' is unrelated to the length of stay. A longer stay is just as likely to result in deterioration as in improvement in 'adjustment' of immigrant children. The conclusion points to the utter futility of the *'laissez faire'* approach and highlights the urgent need for action.

TABLE 9.5

IMMIGRANT CHILDREN:
LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN BRITAIN

GROUP	MEAN (IN YEARS)
West Indian Boys	5.81
West Indian Girls	6.21
All West Indians	6.00
Cypriot Boys	4.33
Cypriot Girls	4.86
All Cypriots	4.60

TABLE 9.5A

LENGTH OF STAY (in years)	WEST INDIANS				CYPRIOTS				ALL	
	BOYS		GIRLS		BOYS		GIRLS			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Under 1	5	5.6	4	4.8	2	5.3	3	7.9	14	5.6
1 - 2	7	7.8	7	8.3	8	21.1	6	15.8	28	11.2
2 - 5	26	28.9	32	38.1	16	42.1	13	34.2	87	34.8
Over 5	52	57.8	41	48.8	12	31.6	16	42.1	121	48.4

TABLE 9.6

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN LENGTH OF
RESIDENCE IN BRITAIN AND ADJUSTMENT

GROUP	SA	PS	ANX	OS	Total Adjust.
West Indian Boys	-02	-01	06	-03	00
West Indian Girls	-06	08	-09	-09	-04
All West Indians	-04	03	00	-06	-02
Cypriot Boys	-09	-08	12	07	-01
Cypriot Girls	08	08	02	-12	03
All Cypriots	-01	-01	06	-03	00

Decimal points have been omitted.

INTENTION OF RETURNING HOME

A significant proportion of the parents of immigrant children intended to return home at some stage, though none were contemplating doing so in the immediate future.

TABLE 9.7

INTENTION OF RETURNING HOME

GROUP	N	%
West Indian Boys	48	53.3
West Indian Girls	43	51.2
All West Indians	91	52.3
Cypriot Boys	29	76.3
Cypriot Girls	27	71.1
All Cypriots	56	73.7
All Immigrants	147	58.8

73.7% of the Cypriots indicated that their families desired to return home on a permanent basis as against 52.3% of the West Indians who thought that they would return to the West Indies. The difference between the groups was significant at 1% level of significance. Hypothesis No.9 stated "Immigrant children whose families intend returning home are significantly less well-adjusted than those who have settled permanently". The hypothesis was based on the assumption that those families who have decided to stay in England for good would perhaps make more attempt towards adapting themselves to English conditions and ways of life. This would result in their children being more well-adjusted than others who see their stay here as only temporary. The results clearly do not support the hypothesis.

TABLE 9.8

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN ADJUSTMENT SCORES OF CHILDREN INTENDING TO RETURN HOME AND INTENDING TO STAY

GROUP	SA	PS	ANX	OSC	TA
All West Indians	-0.97	0.09	0.71	-0.10	-0.27
West Indian Boys	-0.67	1.35	0.84	-1.09	0.43
West Indian Girls	-1.30	-1.26	0.57	0.96	0.08
All Cypriots	-0.22	-2.61*	0.02	0.41	-2.40
Cypriot Boys	1.67	-1.06	0.68	0.43	1.72
Cypriot Girls	-2.10	-4.16/	-0.72	0.39	-6.59

* Denotes significance at 5% level.
/ Denotes significance at 1% level.
All differences shown in favour of children intending to return.

It is interesting to note that 25% of the teachers of immigrant children had thought that the intention of returning home was related to immigrant childrens' adjustment in Britain. On analysis of the results, however, no significant differences were found in the mean composite adjustment scores of children whose families intended to return to their former homelands and those who did not. The four scales comprising the 'composite adjustment' score were then studied separately, only one significant difference emerged. Cypriots who intended to stay, scored significantly higher on the 'personal satisfaction' scale than those who intended to leave. The difference was significant between girls but not between boys.

LIVING WITH BOTH PARENTS

Table 9.9 shows the number and percentage of the immigrant and the control group children living with both parents.

TABLE 9.9

LIVING WITH BOTH PARENTS

GROUP	N	%
West Indian Boys	77	85.6
West Indian Girls	73	86.9
All West Indians	150	86.2
Cypriot Boys	24	63.2
Cypriot Girls	31	81.6
All Cypriots	55	72.4
English Boys	92	92.0
English Girls	95	95.0
All English	187	93.5

A much larger proportion of Cypriot children, than children in other groups studied, were living with only one parent. The missing parent in all except two cases was the mother who was still back in Cyprus. It appears that the probability of a Cypriot girl living with both parents is much higher than that of a boy.

A difference in the adjustment scores, in favour of the children living with both parents was found in the immigrant as well as the English groups. Although the difference was significant only in the West Indian groups, the results being statistically inconclusive in other groups, due to the small number of subjects involved, it is nevertheless suggestive. The

separation of parents, for whatever reason, appears to lower the adjustment of all children, regardless of their national origins or cultural background. The two variables on which children living with both parents seem to have advantage are, personal satisfaction and freedom from anxiety. Hypothesis 10 which stated "Immigrant children living with both parents are significantly more well-adjusted than others" was confirmed. However, in view of the similar differences between the immigrant and the control groups, it appears that living with one parent often results in maladjustment in English children, equally as much as it does with immigrant children.

TABLE 9.10

DIFFERENCE IN ADJUSTMENT SCORES OF CHILDREN LIVING WITH BOTH AND ONE PARENT

GROUP	SA	PS	ANX	OS	TA
All West Indians	0.82	4.07	2.78/	1.15	8.82/
West Indian Boys	0.64	3.65	2.89*	1.56	8.74*
West Indian Girls	1.02	4.52	2.67*	0.67	8.88*
All Cypriots	0.28	4.07/	0.82	0.94	6.11
Cypriot Boys	0.68	3.91/	0.65	1.38	6.62
Cypriot Girls	-0.12	4.21/	1.00	0.50	5.59
All English	0.53	4.91	3.04	1.43	9.91
English Boys	-0.06	5.61	3.21	1.60	10.36
English Girls	1.13	4.21	2.86	1.25	9.45

All differences shown are in favour of children living with both parents.

*Denotes significance at 5% level.
/Denotes significance at 1% level.

WORKING MOTHERS

Table 9.11 analyses the percentage of the mothers, of the children studied, who went out to work.

TABLE 9.11
WORKING MOTHERS

GROUP	N	%
All West Indians	117	67.2
West Indian Boys	63	70.0
West Indian Girls	54	64.2
All Cypriots	13	17.1
Cypriot Boys	6	15.8
Cypriot Girls	7	18.4
All English	83	41.5
English Boys	40	40.0
English Girls	43	43.0

It would appear that a large percentage of West Indian mothers went out to work while the percentage in the Cypriots was the lowest, with the English occupying a position midway between the two. The differences between the three national groups were significant at the 1% level.

The adjustment scores of the children whose mothers went out to work, were compared with others. The results are classified in table 9.12. The differences shown are in favour of children whose mothers did not go out to work. No significant differences were observed between the two groups. No evidence was found to support the hypothesis No.11 "Immigrant working mothers have less well-adjusted children". Mother going out to work does not appear to be related to the 'adjustment' of immigrant children in any way.

TABLE 9.12

DIFFERENCE IN ADJUSTMENT OF CHILDREN WHOSE MOTHER DO AND DO NOT GO OUT TO WORK

GROUPS	SA	PS	ANX	OS	CA
All West Indians	1.15	-0.47	0.69	-0.55	0.82
West Indian Boys	1.16	0.53	0.69	-1.14	1.24
West Indian Girls	1.13	-1.54	0.69	0.08	0.36
All Cypriots	0.26	-0.86	1.25	0.50	1.15
Cypriot Boys	-0.63	-2.25	1.56	0.94	-0.38
Cypriot Girls	1.15	0.53	0.94	0.06	2.68
All English	-0.05	-0.06	-0.25	-0.33	-0.69
English Boys	-0.35	1.50	-1.32	-0.59	-0.76
English Girls	0.26	-1.62	0.83	-0.06	-0.59

All differences shown in favour of children of non-working mothers.

FAMILY SIZE

Table 9.13 gives the average number of children per family in each of the groups studied.

TABLE 9.13

AVERAGE NUMBER OF CHILDREN PER FAMILY

GROUP	MEAN
All West Indians	2.74
West Indian Boys	2.67
West Indian Girls	2.81
All Cypriots	2.64
Cypriot Boys	2.83
Cypriot Girls	2.44
All English	2.04
English Boys	1.94
English Girls	2.13

The immigrant families, on the whole, were larger than the English families. The 'adjustment'scores were

correlated with the number of children per family, the result is reproduced in table 9.14.

TABLE 9.14

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN ADJUSTMENT AND FAMILY SIZE

GROUP	SA	PS	ANX	OS	CA
All West Indians	-03	-28/	-31/	-14	-25/
West Indian Boys	04	-23*	-29/	-07	-18
West Indian Girls	-11	-30/	-34/	-22*	-31/
All Cypriots	-02	-19	-25*	-19	-27*
Cypriot Boys	-03	-21	-28	-20	-21
Cypriot Girls	-01	-17	-22	-17	-18
All English	-04	-24/	-25/	-02	-17*
English Boys	-01	-28/	-20*	-03	-16
English Girls	-05	-21*	-29/	-01	-18

*Denotes significance at 5% level.
/Denotes significance at 1% level.

A low correlation which was consistently negative was obtained in all the groups. The correlation co-efficient was significant in the West Indian, Cypriot and English groups. The correlations were not high enough to be significant in boys' and girls' groups separately.

No significant relationship between 'social acceptability' and family size was discernible. With the exception of a low and barely significant correlation in the West Indian girls, no stable relationship was found between the family size and the 'objectivity of the self-concept'. On the other hand, a consistently negative correlation between family size and personal satisfaction was found which was

significant in the West Indian and the English groups. A significant negative correlation between anxiety and family size was found in the English, West Indian and the Cypriot groups. The results suggest that the child from a small family is likely to be more satisfied and less anxious than a child from a larger family, regardless of the cultural background of the family. All but one of the correlations obtained in Table 9.14 were consistently negative. Although some of the co-efficients were not large enough to be significant at the 5% level, the probability of all these correlations being consistently negative by chance alone is less than 1%. Thus evidence was found to support the hypothesis No.12 which stated "Adjustment of immigrants is negatively related to family size". This relationship, however, is not peculiar to immigrant children. A similar relationship was also found among the control group of English children. Thus a small family, English, Cypriot or West Indian, is more likely than a big family, to produce a well-adjusted child.

ADJUSTMENT AND THE SOCIAL CLASS

It was hoped to study the differences between the adjustment patterns of working class as against middle class immigrant pupils. Unfortunately only three out of 174 West Indians and four out of 76 Cypriots could be classified as having middle class parents. Although the mean adjustment of middle class children was considerably higher than others, in view of the very small numbers of middle class children involved, the result could only be seen as

tentative, suggestive and statistically unreliable.

TABLE 9.15

MEAN ADJUSTMENT SCORES ACCORDING TO SOCIAL CLASS

GROUP	MIDDLE CLASS		WORKING CLASS		DIFFERENCE
	MEAN	N	MEAN	N	
West Indians	57.18	3	41.67	171	15.49
Cypriots	62.84	4	46.44	72	16.40

When the parental profession in the home country was studied, only seven West Indians and five Cypriots could be classified as middle class. Once again in view of the small numbers of middle class children involved, the results could only be suggestive and statistically unreliable. Thus hypothesis No.13 "Middle class immigrant children are significantly more well-adjusted than the working class immigrant children" could not be tested.

TABLE 9.16

ADJUSTMENT AND SOCIAL CLASS IN THE HOME COUNTRY

GROUP	MIDDLE CLASS		WORKING CLASS		DIFFERENCE
	MEAN	N	MEAN	N	
West Indians	54.93	7	41.40	167	13.53
Cypriots	64.68	5	46.03	71	18.65

An interesting supplementary observation could be made here about the difference in the class membership of the immigrant community. It has been suggested that many immigrants who were holding white-collar jobs in their home countries are doing manual jobs in Britain. One can-not be certain what happens to the immigrant

white-collar workers when they arrive here, but the results of this study suggest that an overwhelming majority of immigrant manual workers did similar jobs in their own countries.

HOUSING

Table 9.17 shows the number of children who were living in multi-occupation houses.

TABLE 9.17

CHILDREN LIVING IN MULTI-OCCUPATION HOUSES

GROUP	N	%
All West Indians	140	80.46
West Indian Boys	71	78.89
West Indian Girls	69	82.14
All Cypriots	37	48.68
Cypriot Boys	16	42.11
Cypriot Girls	21	55.26
All English	12	6.00
English Boys	5	5.00
English Girls	7	7.00

A very large number of West Indians and a very small proportion of English children were living in houses occupied by several families. The proportion of such Cypriot children was much larger than the English but smaller than the West Indians. Table 9.18 shows the significance of the differences between the mean adjustment scores of children who were and were not living in multi-occupation houses.

No significant differences were found between the two groups. Hypothesis 38 "Immigrant children living in multi-occupation houses have a lower adjustment than others" was, therefore, rejected.

TABLE 9.18

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN ADJUSTMENT SCORES OF CHILDREN WHO WERE AND WERE NOT LIVING IN MULTI-OCCUPATION HOUSES

GROUPS	SA	PS	ANX	OS	CA
All West Indians	-0.38	0.63	0.03	0.56	0.84
West Indian Boys	-1.53	2.16	-1.39	1.06	0.30
West Indian Girls	0.86	-1.05	1.56	0.03	1.40
All Cypriots	0.19	-0.03	-1.10	-1.09	-2.03
Cypriot Boys	1.96	2.13	-1.86	-1.75	0.48
Cypriot Girls	-1.59	-2.18	-0.34	-0.42	-4.53
All English	0.09	-2.44	-1.09	0.14	-3.30
English Boys	1.23	-2.45	-1.49	2.15	-0.56
English Girls	-1.06	-2.43	-0.68	-1.87	-6.04

All differences have been shown in favour of children living in multi-occupation houses.

LANGUAGE SPOKEN AT HOME

Table 9.19 shows the number of children who spoke English and other languages as their mother-tongue at home.

TABLE 9.19

LANGUAGES SPOKEN AT HOME

GROUP / Language:	ENGLISH		GREEK		TURKISH	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
West Indians	174	100.0	-	-	-	-
Cypriots	5	6.6	62	81.7	9	11.9
English	200	100.0	-	-	-	-

The split between English and non-English speakers at home, is entirely along the national-racial lines. English and West Indian children spoke English at home while most of the Greek Cypriots spoke Greek, and Turkish Cypriots Turkish. Since the differences between the adjustment of those who did and did not

speak English at home would be very similar to the differences in the adjustment of the various national groups, it is not proposed to discuss it here. The differences between the adjustment scores of the various national groups have already been discussed earlier. Since hypothesis 39 "Immigrant children who normally speak English at home are better adjusted than others" was concerned specifically with the language spoken at home, it could only be tested by comparing the adjustment of Cypriots who normally spoke English at home with Cypriots who did not. A similar comparison for the West Indians would have been necessary. Unfortunately, due to the nature of the data available, this hypothesis could not be tested.

RELIGION

The religious faiths of the children included in the survey are shown in the table 9.20

TABLE 9.20
RELIGIOUS FAITH

GROUP	RELIGIOUS FAITH			
	CHRISTIAN		MUSLIM	
	N	%	N	%
West Indians	174	100	-	-
Greek Cypriots	66	100	-	-
Turkish Cypriots	-	-	10	100
English	200	100	-	-

The religious faith was also found to differ along the national-racial lines. The number of non-Christian children was too small for a statistical comparison of the mean adjustment scores. In any case, the difference

if any, would reflect the difference between two cultural groups and not just between children of two different religious faiths. It is, therefore, not proposed to discuss it here. For reasons similar to those discussed with respect to testing of hypothesis 39, hypothesis 40 which stated "There is no difference between the adjustment of immigrant children professing different religious faiths" could not be tested.

SOCIAL RELATIONS OF CHILDREN

Table 9.21 shows the number and proportion of immigrant children who considered an English child as their 'best friend'.

TABLE 9.21

NUMBER OF IMMIGRANT CHILDREN WHO CHOSE AN ENGLISH CHILD AS THEIR 'BEST FRIEND'

GROUP	N	%
All West Indians	5	2.87
West Indian Boys	4	4.44
West Indian Girls	1	1.19
All Cypriots	11	14.47
Cypriot Boys	5	13.16
Cypriot Girls	6	15.79

An examination of table 9.21 suggests a lack of racial integration at school. The school was generally regarded by teachers and others concerned as having normal race relations. There had been no racial incident at the school, yet the friendship choices, of the close kind at any rate, had been very largely confined to children's own racial-national groups.

The proportion of Cypriot children describing an English child as their 'best friend' was much higher than West Indian children. The number of children having an English child as their 'best friend' was too small for a statistical comparison of their mean adjustment scores with children who did not claim such friendship.

Table 9.20 shows the number and proportion of immigrant children who claimed an English child as one of their friends.

TABLE 9.20

NUMBER OF IMMIGRANT CHILDREN CLAIMING FRIENDSHIP WITH AN ENGLISH CHILD

GROUP	N	%
All West Indians	39	22.41
West Indian Boys	24	26.67
West Indian Girls	15	17.86
All Cypriots	58	76.32
Cypriot Boys	27	71.05
Cypriot Girls	31	81.58

The proportion of Cypriot children claiming an English child as their friend was much higher than the West Indians. It would appear that there was more friendship between Cypriots and the English than between the English and the West Indians. The difference in the friendship choices may have been one of the reasons why the 'social acceptability' scores of the Cypriot children were found to be significantly higher than those of the West Indians.

Table 9.21 gives the significance of the difference between the adjustment socres of immigrant

children who did and did not claim an English child as their friend.

TABLE 9.21

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE MEAN ADJUSTMENT SCORES OF CHILDREN WHO DID AND DID NOT CLAIM AN ENGLISH CHILD AS THEIR FRIEND

GROUP	SA	PS	ANX	OS	CA
All West Indians	9.34/	9.91/	9.09/	8.08/	36.42/
West Indian Boys	8.53/	10.23/	6.79/	8.31/	33.86/
West Indian Girls	10.21/	9.56/	11.56/	7.83/	39.16/
All Cypriots	9.80/	9.40/	6.83/	7.69/	33.72/
Cypriot Boys	9.67/	8.96/	5.97/	8.52/	33.12/
Cypriot Girls	9.93/	9.83/	7.69/	6.86/	34.31/

/Denotes significance at 1% level.

All differences are shown in favour of children who claimed friendship of an English child.

The mean adjustment scores and the mean scores on all the four adjustment sub-scales were found to be significantly higher for those who had an English friend as against those who did not. The results suggest that adjustment of an immigrant child may be helped by his friendship with English children. Such friendship is related not only with 'social acceptability' but also with variables such as 'personal satisfaction', 'freedom from anxiety' and 'objectivity of self-concept'. Hypothesis 41 "Friendship with an English child is positively related to the adjustment of immigrant children" was, therefore, confirmed by the results of this study.

SOCIAL RELATIONS OF THE FAMILY

Table 9.22 shows the number and proportion of

immigrant children whose families visited or were visited by an English family.

TABLE 9.22

IMMIGRANT CHILDREN WHOSE FAMILIES VISITED OR WERE VISITED BY AN ENGLISH FAMILY

GROUP	N	%
All West Indians	5	2.87
West Indian Boys	3	3.33
West Indian Girls	2	2.38
All Cypriots	10	13.16
Cypriot Boys	6	15.79
Cypriot Girls	4	10.53

It would appear that there was very little contact between the immigrants and the English population at the family level. The percentage of immigrant families being on visiting terms with the English was higher among the Cypriots than the West Indians.

Table 9.23 shows the significance of the difference between the mean adjustment scores of children whose family was and was not on visiting terms with an English family.

The results are shown in favour of children whose families were on visiting terms with the English. The evidence produced here shows conclusively that the social relations of parents are strongly related to the 'adjustment' of their children. An immigrant parent who is on visiting terms with English families is likely to have an 'adjusted' child. Hypothesis 42 "Immigrant child-

ren whose families are on visiting terms with the English are better adjusted than others" was thus confirmed.

TABLE 9.23

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE MEAN ADJUSTMENT SCORES OF CHILDREN WHOSE FAMILIES WERE AND WERE NOT ON VISITING TERMS WITH THE ENGLISH

VARIABLE	DIFFERENCE	SIGNIFICANCE
Social Acceptability	12.46	1%
Personal Satisfaction	10.95	1%
Freedom from Anxiety	14.63	1%
Objectivity of Self-concept	5.94	5%
Composite Adjustment	43.98	1%

All differences are shown in favour of children whose families were on visiting terms with the English.

It is interesting to note that the biggest difference between the groups was found not on 'social acceptability', but on 'freedom from anxiety'. The 'adjustment' scores of children whose families were on visiting terms with the English were found to be significantly higher. The results suggest that social relations of parents may be of crucial importance to the adjustment of the child.

CHAPTER 10

ANALYSIS III: ATTAINMENT, ABILITIES AND PERSONALITY FACTORS

The present chapter analyses the attainment, abilities and 'extraversion' of immigrant children, for their relationship with 'adjustment'.

ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

Table 10.1 shows the mean 'academic achievement' of the various groups studied.

Table 10.2 analyses the significance of the differences between the means of the various groups. There was no significant difference between the 'academic achievement' of the two immigrant groups. Immigrant children, on the other hand, had lower achievement on the academic subjects than the English sample, the differences being highly significant. Thus evidence was found to support the hypothesis 14. The hypothesis 14 stated "Immigrant children have a lower academic achievement than English children".

The results suggest that schools are in danger of producing immigrant school-leavers who are not only less well-adjusted but also have significantly less academic achievement than their English counterparts. This would invariably lead to the immigrant school-leaver being offered low status jobs, culminating in evolution of a social class, below the working class on the social ladder and consisting overwhelmingly of foreign faces and accents.

TABLE 10.1

MEAN ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

GROUP	MEAN	SD
All West Indians	9.43	4.52
West Indian Boys	9.20	4.03
West Indian Girls	9.67	4.97
All Cypriots	9.46	5.12
Cypriot Boys	9.23	5.19
Cypriot Girls	9.70	5.11
All English	15.17	8.11
English Boys	15.34	8.29
English Girls	15.00	7.97

TABLE 10.2

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE MEAN ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

GROUP	DIFFERENCE	SIGNIFICANCE
All English vs All West Indians	5.74	1%
All English vs All Cypriots	5.71	1%
All Cypriots vs All West Indians	0.04	NS
English Boys vs West Indian Boys	6.14	1%
English Boys vs Cypriot Boys	6.11	1%
Cypriot Boys vs West Indian Boys	0.025	NS
English Girls vs West Indian Girls	5.67	1%
English Girls vs Cypriot Girls	5.64	1%
Cypriot Girls vs West Indian Girls	0.03	NS

Table 10.3 gives the correlations between the various measures of 'adjustment' and academic success. A positive relationship, significant at 1% level between composite 'adjustment' scores and 'academic achievement' was found in all the groups, the correlations being significant at 5% level in Cypriot girls. Hypothesis 15 stated "Academic achievement of immigrant children is positively related to their adjustment". The results obtained support the hypothesis.

TABLE 10.3

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN ADJUSTMENT AND ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

GROUP	SA	PS	ANX	OS	TA
All West Indians	24/	30/	39/	18*	36/
West Indian Boys	33/	26*	41/	30/	41/
West Indian Girls	17	33/	36/	09	31/
All Cypriots	32/	39/	38/	26*	43/
Cypriot Boys	32*	41/	44/	30	46/
Cypriot Girls	32*	38*	33*	23	40*
All English	36/	32/	40/	26/	42/
English Boys	29/	29/	35/	22*	36/
English Girls	43/	34/	46/	30/	48/

SA = Social Acceptability
PS = Personal Satisfaction
ANX = Freedom from Anxiety
OS = Objectivity of self-concept
TA = Composite adjustment scores

*Denotes significance at 5% level
/Denotes significance at 1% level

A positive correlation between 'academic achievement' and 'social acceptability' was observed, which was significant in all groups except the West Indian girls. The correlation was higher in the English

groups than in the immigrant groups. A significant positive correlation was obtained between 'academic achievement' and 'personal satisfaction' in all groups. Similarly, a positive correlation, significant at 5% level, was obtained between 'freedom from anxiety' and 'academic achievement'. Of the four scales that produced the composite 'adjustment' scores, correlation with 'academic achievement' was higher with 'freedom from anxiety' than with the other three scales. It appears that a lack of 'academic achievement' may be a major cause of anxiety among school children.

NON-ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

Table 10.4 shows the mean 'non-academic achievement' of the various groups. The significance of the differences between the various means is described in Table 10.5. West Indians scored significantly higher on this variable than both the Cypriots and the English. The difference between the latter two groups was small and insignificant. When the scores of boys and girls were analysed separately, a similar pattern to the one described above was obtained. No significant sex differences were found. The hypothesis 16 "There is no difference between the non-academic achievement of immigrant and English children" was not supported by evidence. The reasons for higher non-academic achievement of the West Indians are perhaps two. Firstly, the 'academic achievement' of the West Indians, on the whole, was the poorest of the three groups tested. Having failed in the classroom, they may have felt

TABLE 10.4

MEAN NON-ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT SCORES

GROUP	MEAN	SD
All West Indians	2.22	0.63
West Indian Boys	2.25	0.65
West Indian Girls	2.19	0.64
All Cypriots	1.76	0.88
Cypriot Boys	1.69	0.85
Cypriot Girls	1.84	0.92
All English	1.74	1.03
English Boys	1.64	0.86
English Girls	1.83	0.95

TABLE 10.5

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MEAN NON-ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

GROUPS CONTRASTED	DIFFERENCE	SIGNIFICANCE
All English vs All West Indians	-0.48	1%
All English vs All Cypriots	-0.02	NS
All Cypriots vs All West Indians	-0.46	1%
English Boys vs West Indian Boys	-0.61	1%
English Boys vs Cypriot Boys	-0.05	NS
Cypriot Boys vs West Indian Boys	-0.56	1%
English Girls vs West Indian Girls	-0.36	1%
English Girls vs Cypriot Girls	-0.01	NS
Cypriot Girls vs West Indian Girls	-0.35	5%

a strong urge to succeed on the playground. Secondly, there is a strong tradition of games and sports in the West Indies. It is an area where Negroes have traditionally excelled; the young West Indian at school may well be living up to his expected role of fine cricketer, athlete and boxer.

Table 10.6 sets out the correlations obtained between 'non-academic achievement' and 'adjustment' scores. No significant correlation between the two variables was found in any of the groups. It appears that 'non-academic achievement' is not related to 'adjustment'. The hypothesis 17 which stated "Non-academic achievement is positively related to immigrant children's adjustment' was unsupported by the results of this study and was, therefore rejected.

TABLE 10.6

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN ADJUSTMENT AND NON-ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

GROUP	SA	PS	ANX	OS	CA
All West Indians	00	00	-09	-01	-03
West Indian Boys	-04	08	-11	-13	-05
West Indian Girls	04	-07	-03	12	00
All Cypriots	-13	-07	-06	-01	-09
Cypriot Boys	-11	-09	-10	-13	-13
Cypriot Girls	-15	-06	-04	16	-04
All English	-06	-01	-00	-07	-04
English Boys	-11	07	-01	-11	-05
English Girls	-02	-08	01	-04	-04

Decimal points have been omitted from the table.

ATTAINMENT IN ENGLISH

Table 10.7 gives the mean scores and standard deviations of the various groups on attainment in English.

Table 10.8 analyses the significance of the difference between the means of the various groups. As may be expected the English group was significantly superior to the immigrant groups on this variable. Although the difference between the two immigrant groups was not found to be significant, the West Indians, on the whole, scored higher than the Cypriots. When the scores of each sex were analysed separately, West Indian girls were found to have a higher mean score than the Cypriots, the difference, however, was not significant at 5% level. The difference between West Indian and Cypriot boys was very small and insignificant. Hypothesis 18 "English children have a higher attainment in English than immigrants" was confirmed by the results of this study.

The 'English attainment scores' were then correlated with the adjustment scores, the obtained correlation matrix is reproduced in Table 10.9.

A significant correlation between 'attainment in English' and "adjustment" scores was found in all the groups. On analysis of each sub-scale, a positive relationship between 'attainment in English' and the four 'adjustment' sub-scales was found. The coefficient was significant in every case except two, where it showed slightly less than the required 5% level of significance. Ample evidence was found to support the hypothesis 19 that "Attainment in English is positively related to adjustment among immigrant children".

TABLE 10.7

MEAN 'ATTAINMENT IN ENGLISH' SCORES

GROUP	MEAN	SD
All West Indians	1.676	2.84
West Indian Boys	1.702	2.92
West Indian Girls	1.648	2.79
All Cypriots	1.278	3.16
Cypriot Boys	1.708	3.22
Cypriot Girls	0.848	3.07
All English	3.164	3.30
English Boys	3.545	3.36
English Girls	2.783	3.22

TABLE 10.8

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN MEAN ENGLISH ATTAINMENT SCORES

GROUPS CONTRASTED	DIFFERENCE	SIGNIFICANCE
All English vs All West Indians	1.488	1%
All English vs All Cypriots	1.886	1%
All Cypriots vs All West Indians	-0.398	NS
English Boys vs West Indian Boys	1.843	1%
English Boys vs Cypriot Boys	1.837	1%
Cypriot Boys vs West Indian Boys	0.006	NS
English Girls vs West Indian Girls	1.135	5%
English Girls vs Cypriot Girls	1.935	1%
Cypriot Girls vs West Indian Girls	-0.800	NS

TABLE 10.9

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN ENGLISH ATTAINMENT AND ADJUSTMENT

GROUPS	SA	PS	ANX	OS	CA
All West Indians	34/	26/	31/	38/	40/
West Indian Boys	36/	35/	31/	38/	44/
West Indian Girls	32/	17	30/	38/	36/
All Cypriots	35/	37/	38/	37/	45/
Cypriot Boys	29	43/	38*	36*	45/
Cypriot Girls	43/	32*	34*	38*	45/
All English	39/	33/	35/	31/	43/
English Boys	41/	32/	31/	32/	43/
English Girls	37/	35/	39/	30/	44/

*Denotes significance at 5% level
/Denotes significance at 1% level
Decimal points have been omitted from the table.

The results would seem to suggest that attainment in English language is an important factor in the adjustment of immigrant and English children alike.

FLUENCY OF SPOKEN ENGLISH

Table 10.10 sets out the mean 'fluency of spoken English' scores of the various groups.

TABLE 10.10

MEAN 'FLUENCY OF SPOKEN ENGLISH' SCORES

GROUP	MEAN	SD
All West Indians	3.06	1.76
West Indian Boys	3.73	1.57
West Indian Girls	2.34	1.67
All Cypriots	2.66	1.42
Cypriot Boys	2.46	1.69
Cypriot Girls	2.87	1.05
All English	4.63	0.79
English Boys	4.53	0.76
English Girls	4.71	0.82

Table 10.11 analyses the significance of the differences between the mean 'spoken English fluency scores' of the various groups. As might be expected the English obtained higher mean scores than the immigrant groups, the differences being large and highly significant. Of the two immigrant groups, the West Indians' score was found to be higher than the Cypriot mean score but the difference was not significant at 5% level. When the scores of the two sexes were analysed separately, English boys and girls were found to be significantly more fluent in spoken English than their immigrant counterparts. West Indian boys scored significantly higher than Cypriot boys, but the difference between the girls was reversed. Cypriot girls scored significantly higher than the West Indian girls. It is difficult to account for this sex difference in the 'English fluency' scores of the immigrant groups. Since at 5% level of significance there is a probability of 5 out of 100 significant differences arising solely through operation of chance factors, perhaps the safest course is to assume that the case for the sex difference is 'not proven', and worthy of further investigation.

The 'fluency of spoken English' scores were then correlated with the adjustment scores, the correlations obtained are reproduced in Table 10.12. With the exception of the English girls' group, no significant relationship between the 'fluency of spoken English' scores and 'adjustment' or any of its sub-

TABLE 10.11

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MEAN 'FLUENCY OF SPOKEN ENGLISH' SCORES

GROUPS CONTRASTED	DIFFERENCE	SIGNIFICANCE
All English vs All West Indians	1.57	1%
All English vs All Cypriots	1.96	1%
All Cypriots vs All West Indians	-0.39	NS
English Boys vs West Indian Boys	0.81	1%
English Boys vs Cypriot Boys	2.07	1%
Cypriot Boys vs West Indian Boys	-1.26	1%
English Girls vs West Indian Girls	2.37	1%
English Girls vs Cypriot Girls	1.85	1%
Cypriot Girls vs West Indian Girls	0.53	5%

scales was found in any of the groups. A low positive correlation which was significant at 5% level was found between 'anxiety' and 'fluency in spoken English' in the English girls' group. Hypothesis 20 stated "Fluency of spoken English is positively related to immigrant children's adjustment". No evidence was found to support the hypothesis and it was therefore, rejected. It is interesting to note that although attainment in English (which was assessed through written work) was related to adjustment scores of immigrant

TABLE 10.12

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN 'FLUENCY OF SPOKEN ENGLISH' AND ADJUSTMENT

GROUPS	SA	PS	ANX	OS	CA
All West Indians	01	01	08	15	07
West Indian Boys	-07	15	13	17	12
West Indian Girls	10	-14	02	12	02
All Cypriots	-08	-17	-16	-17	-18
Cypriot Boys	-13	-23	-26	-28	-27
Cypriot Girls	-04	-10	-10	-07	-10
All English	12	13	12	04	13
English Boys	02	06	-02	08	01
English Girls	21	19	23*	16	23*

*Denotes significance at 5% level

Decimal points have been omitted from the table.

children, fluency of *spoken* English was not. This may well be due to the fact that ability in written rather than spoken English is an important factor in attainment at school.

VOCABULARY

The mean 'vocabulary scores' of the various groups tested are given in Table 10.13.

TABLE 10.13

MEAN VOCABULARY SCORES

GROUP	MEAN	SD
All West Indians	21.94	7.60
West Indian Boys	22.31	7.66
West Indian Girls	21.54	7.56
All Cypriots	20.26	9.87
Cypriot Boys	20.18	10.49
Cypriot Girls	20.35	9.33
All English	29.45	9.99
English Boys	28.53	9.37
English Girls	30.38	10.56

Table 10.14 analyses the significance of the differences between the mean 'vocabulary scores' of the various groups.

TABLE 10.14

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MEAN VOCABULARY SCORES

GROUPS CONTRASTED	DIFFERENCES	SIGNIFICANCE
All English vs All West Indians	7.51	1%
All English vs All Cypriots	9.19	1%
All Cypriots vs All West Indians	-1.68	NS
English Boys vs West Indian Boys	6.21	1%
English Boys vs Cypriot Boys	8.35	1%
Cypriot Boys vs West Indian Boys	-2.14	NS
English Girls vs West Indian Girls	8.84	1%
English Girls vs Cypriot Girls	10.03	1%
Cypriot Girls vs West Indian Girls	-1.18	NS

As might be expected, the English group scored higher than both the immigrant groups on this variable, the differences being large and highly significant. The West Indians scored higher than the Cypriots but the difference between the means of the two groups was not statistically significant at 5% level of significance. When the scores of the two sexes were analysed separately, a similar

pattern emerged. Hypothesis 21 "Immigrant children have less extensive vocabulary than English children" was supported by the results of this study.

'Vocabulary scores' were then correlated with the 'adjustment' scores, the set of correlations obtained is reproduced in Table 10.15.

TABLE 10.15

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN VOCABULARY AND ADJUSTMENT

GROUPS	SA	PS	ANX	OS	CA
All West Indians	00	14	-07	-11	00
West Indian Boys	05	13	-16	-11	-02
West Indian Girls	-05	15	03	-11	02
All Cypriots	08	-06	05	-16	-02
Cypriot Boys	12	-06	08	-15	01
Cypriot Girls	01	-05	02	-17	-05
All English	-06	-05	11	-15*	-04
English Boys	-16	-12	11	-03	-06
English Girls	03	02	10	-23*	-02

*Denotes significance at 5% level

Decimal points have been omitted from the table.

No significant correlation between 'vocabulary scores' and 'adjustment' or any of its sub-scales was found in any of the groups. There were, however, two exceptions. A low, negative, but significant correlation was obtained in the English group between 'vocabulary scores' and 'objectivity of self-concept'. Among the English, the correlation was significant in girls but not in boys. Two significant correlations out of 45 would, in any case, be expected to reach 5% level of significance by operation of chance factors alone,

and thus, are of limited value. Hypothesis 22 "Vocabulary is unrelated to adjustment of immigrants" was thus confirmed.

MENTAL AGE

Table 10.16 sets out the mean intelligence test scores of the various groups.

TABLE 10.16

MEAN INTELLIGENCE TEST SCORES

GROUPS	MEAN	SD
All West Indians	36.15	6.88
West Indian Boys	36.56	7.41
West Indian Girls	35.71	6.32
All Cypriots	33.85	9.61
Cypriot Boys	33.65	9.98
Cypriot Girls	34.05	9.36
All English	39.97	9.60
English Boys	39.00	9.02
English Girls	40.94	10.11

Table 10.17 analyses the significance of the differences between the mean intelligence test scores.

The English children tested had a higher mean intelligence test score than the immigrants, the differences being significant at 1% level. Of the immigrant groups, West Indians obtained a higher mean score than the Cypriots, though the difference between the two groups was significant at the 10% level but not at the 5% level. This pattern was repeated when the scores of the two sexes were analysed separately.

TABLE 10.17

SIGNIFICANCE OF DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MEAN INTELLIGENCE TEST SCORES

GROUPS CONTRASTED	DIFFERENCE	SIGNIFICANCE
All English vs All West Indians	3.82	1%
All English vs All Cypriots	6.12	1%
All Cypriots vs All West Indians	-2.30	NS
English Boys vs West Indian Boys	2.44	1%
English Boys vs Cypriot Boys	5.35	1%
Cypriot Boys vs West Indian Boys	-2.91	NS
English Girls vs West Indian Girls	5.23	1%
English Girls vs Cypriot Girls	6.89	1%
Cypriot Girls vs West Indian Girls	-1.66	NS

Intelligence test scores were then correlated with 'adjustment' scores and its sub-scales, the correlations obtained are reproduced in Table 10.18. No significant relationship between 'adjustment' and intelligence test scores or any of its sub-scales was found in any of the groups with the exception of West Indian girls where a low negative relationship was found with 'social acceptability'.

It is worth remembering at this stage that intelligence test scores were used as a measure of

mental age. Thus the results discussed here indicate no relationship between adjustment and mental age. Hypothesis 23 "Adjustment of immigrant children is negatively related to their mental age" was, therefore, rejected.

TABLE 10.18

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN ADJUSTMENT AND INTELLIGENCE TEST SCORES

GROUPS	SA	PS	ANX	OS	CA
All West Indians	-13	07	-02	06	-02
West Indian Boys	-04	09	08	08	07
West Indian Girls	-23*	04	-11	04	-09
All Cypriots	08	03	09	-06	05
Cypriot Boys	14	03	20	-07	11
Cypriot Girls	00	02	02	-04	00
All English	-06	-04	-10	-02	-07
English Boys	-12	-07	-06	00	-08
English Girls	-01	-01	-14	-04	-06

*Denotes significance at 5% level.

Decimal points have been omitted from the table.

I.Q.

Table 10.19 shows the mean I.Q. scores of the various groups studied.

Table 10.20 analyses the significance of the difference between the mean I.Q. scores of the various groups. As with mental age, the mean I.Q. of the English groups, both boys and girls, was found to be significantly higher than the corresponding immigrant groups. No significant difference was found between the two immigrant groups.

The correlations obtained between the measured I.Q. and 'adjustment' scores is given in table 10.21.

TABLE 10.19

MEAN I.Qs.

GROUP	MEAN	SD
All West Indians	90.41	15.63
West Indian Boys	91.15	16.13
West Indian Girls	89.25	15.14
All Cypriots	84.65	23.88
Cypriot Boys	84.15	24.60
Cypriot Girls	85.15	23.16
All English	102.34	23.93
English Boys	101.56	22.96
English Girls	103.12	24.89

TABLE 10.20

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE MEAN I.Qs.

GROUPS CONTRASTED	DIFFERENCE	SIGNIFICANCE
All English vs All West Indians	11.93	1%
All English vs All Cypriots	17.69	1%
All Cypriots vs All West Indians	-5.76	NS
English Boys vs West Indian Boys	10.41	1%
English Boys vs Cypriot Boys	17.41	1%
Cypriot Boys vs West Indian Boys	-7.00	NS
English Girls vs West Indian Girls	13.87	1%
English Girls vs Cypriot Girls	17.97	1%
Cypriot Girls vs West Indian Girls	4.10	NS

A positive, moderately high correlation between all 'adjustment' scales and I.Q. was found in all the groups. The correlation was higher among the immigrant groups than in the English groups. The evidence obtained confirmed the hypothesis 24 "I.Q. is positively related to adjustment among immigrant children". The results of the study suggest that a child who is above average in intelligence is also likely to have above average 'adjustment', especially if he happens to be an immigrant child. In other words, the higher the level an immigrant child can attain on a Western-type intelligence test, the higher are his chances of adjusting to English society.

TABLE 10.21

CORRELATION BETWEEN I.Q. AND ADJUSTMENT

GROUPS	SA	PS	ANX	OS	CA
All West Indians	37/	33/	36/	32/	43/
West Indian Boys	32/	30/	36/	31/	41/
West Indian Girls	41/	36/	36/	32/	46/
All Cypriots	32/	35/	32/	38/	43/
Cypriot Boys	31*	38*	33*	39*	44/
Cypriot Girls	33*	32*	32*	36*	42/
All English	24/	20/	35/	34/	35/
English Boys	22*	18	30/	38/	34/
English Girls	26/	23*	41/	30/	37/

*Denotes significance at 5% level.
/Denotes significance at 1% level.
Decimal points have been omitted from the table.

EXTRAVERSION

The mean 'extraversion' scores of the various groups are set out in Table 10.22. The significance

of the differences between the means is analysed in Table 10.23.

Immigrant children were found to be significantly more extravert than the English children. Hypothesis 25 "Immigrant children are more extraverted than English children" was confirmed. Among the immigrants, West Indians were found to be more extraverted than the Cypriots, the difference between the two groups being small and insignificant. A similar pattern emerged when the scores of the two sexes were analysed separately.

TABLE 10.22

MEAN EXTRAVERSION SCORES

GROUP	MEAN	SD
All West Indians	14.23	2.74
West Indian Boys	14.24	2.56
West Indian Girls	14.21	2.92
All Cypriots	13.98	2.61
Cypriot Boys	14.03	2.51
Cypriot Girls	13.93	2.75
All English	12.19	3.00
English Boys	12.01	2.91
English Girls	12.36	3.09

The correlations between 'extraversion' and 'adjustment' scores are given in the Table 10.24. A significant positive correlation between the 'adjustment' scores and 'extraversion' was found in all the groups. The results suggest that of the two types, the introverted child is less likely to be well-adjusted. Hypothesis 26 "There is no relationship between extraversion and adjustment of immigrant children" was, therefore rejected.

TABLE 10.23

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN MEAN EXTRAVERSION SCORES

GROUPS CONTRASTED	DIFFERENCE	SIGNIFICANCE
All English vs All West Indians	-2.04	1%
All English vs All Cypriots	-1.79	1%
All Cypriots vs All West Indians	-0.25	NS
English Boys vs West Indian Boys	-2.23	1%
English Boys vs Cypriot Boys	-2.01	1%
Cypriot Boys vs West Indian Boys	-0.21	NS
English Girls vs West Indian Girls	-1.85	1%
English Girls vs Cypriot Girls	-1.56	1%
Cypriot Girls vs West Indian Girls	-0.29	NS

A positive and significant correlation between 'extraversion' and 'social acceptability', 'personal satisfaction' and 'freedom from anxiety' was found in all the groups.

TABLE 10.24

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN EXTRAVERSION AND ADJUSTMENT

GROUPS	SA	PS	ANX	OS	CA
All West Indians	31/	34/	35/	19/	38/
West Indian Boys	38/	30/	43/	19	41/
West Indian Girls	25*	37/	26*	19	36/
All Cypriots	36/	42/	38/	11	41/
Cypriot Boys	36*	47/	39*	12	43/
Cypriot Girls	36*	36*	38*	11	40*
All English	31/	33/	37/	20/	38/
English Boys	29/	34/	37/	23*	39/
English Girls	32/	33/	37/	16	38/

*Denotes significance at 5% level.
/Denotes significance at 1% level.
Decimal points have been omitted from the table.

It thus appears that the concept 'extraversion' as measured by the New Junior Maudsley Personality Inventory is related to all aspects of the concept of adjustment as defined here, with the exception of the 'objectivity of the self-concept'.

CHAPTER 11

ANALYSIS IV: INTERESTS, ATTITUDE AND VOCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS

The 'interests', 'attitude towards school', 'vocational aspirations and expectations' of the sample studied are analysed in this chapter.

INTERESTS

INTEREST IN THINGS

Table 11.1 gives the mean scores of the various groups on 'interest in things' scale.

Table 11.2 analyses the significance of the differences between the various means. As a group, Cypriots were found to be the most 'interested in things', the difference between Cypriots and English being significant at 1% level but the difference between the Cypriot and West Indian groups failed to reach the 5% level of significance. West Indians also scored significantly higher on this variable than the English group. A similar pattern to the one described above emerged when the scores of the two sexes were analysed separately. Immigrants, both West Indians and Cypriots, were significantly more 'interested in things' than the English children. The hypothesis No.27 "Immigrant children are more interested in things than English children" was thus confirmed. This difference between the English and the immigrants may possibly be due to the comparative lack of prosperity in the home countries of the two groups of immigrants studied.

Both Cyprus and the West Indies are developing nations, with both low income per capita and standard of living. It would be natural therefore that these children should show more interest in material goods, than their English schoolmates.

TABLE 11.1

MEAN 'INTEREST IN THINGS' SCORES

GROUP	MEAN	SD
All West Indians	61.16	12.75
West Indian Boys	62.76	12.22
West Indian Girls	59.55	13.14
All Cypriots	64.64	14.63
Cypriot Boys	64.93	14.26
Cypriot Girls	64.35	15.16
All English	56.23	11.52
English Boys	56.69	11.02
English Girls	55.78	12.07

The scores on this variable were correlated with 'adjustment' scores, the obtained set of correlations are reported in Table 11.3. A negative correlation, which was significant in all except the Cypriot girls group, was found between adjustment and 'interest in things' in all the groups. The correlation was lower in the English than the immigrant groups. Similarly, a negative correlation between 'interest in things' and all the four sub-scales of adjustment was found in the immigrant boys groups. The correlation, although negative, was of lower magnitude in the English boys group. Hypothesis 28 "Interest in things is positively related to adjustment of immigrant children" was thus rejected. It appears that a

child whose dominant interest is in things is less likely to be well-adjusted.

TABLE 11.2

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MEAN 'INTEREST IN THINGS' SCORES

GROUPS CONTRASTED	DIFFERENCE	SIGNIFICANCE
All English vs All West Indians	-4.93	1%
All English vs All Cypriots	-8.41	1%
All Cypriots vs All West Indians	3.48	NS
English Boys vs West Indian Boys	-6.07	1%
English Boys vs Cypriot Boys	-8.24	1%
Cypriot Boys vs West Indian Boys	2.17	NS
English Girls vs West Indian Girls	-3.77	5%
English Girls vs Cypriot Girls	-8.57	1%
Cypriot Girls vs West Indian Girls	4.80	NS

TABLE 11.3

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN ADJUSTMENT AND 'INTEREST IN THINGS'

GROUP	SA	PS	ANX	OS	CA
All West Indians	-22/	-22/	-26/	-15*	-27/
West Indian Boys	-30/	-27/	-33/	-21*	-35/
West Indian Girls	-16	-17	-20*	-10	-20*
All Cypriots	-28*	-30/	-31/	-29/	-37/
Cypriot Boys	-40*	-40*	-41/	-31*	-48/
Cypriot Girls	-16	-22	-22	-27	-27
All English	-12	-12	-21/	-09	-18/
English Boys	-16	-21*	-27/	-04	-21/
English Girls	-10	-04	-15	-16	-13

SA = Social Acceptability
PS = Personal Satisfaction
ANX = Freedom from Anxiety
OS = Objectivity of self-concept
CA = Composite adjustment scores

*Denotes significance at 5% level
/Denotes significance at 1% level

Decimal points have been omitted from this table.

INTEREST IN PEOPLE

Table 11.4 gives the mean 'interest in people' scores of the various groups.

Table 11.5 analyses the significance of the differences between the mean 'interest in people' scores of the groups studied. West Indians were found to be the group most interested in people while the Cypriots obtained the lowest mean score. The English mean score fell between these two, though it was much nearer to the Cypriot than the West Indian position. The difference between the West Indian and the other two groups was found to be

significant at 1% level while the difference between the English and Cypriot groups was small and insignificant. When the scores of boys and girls were analysed separately, both the West Indian boys but not the Cypriot boys scored significantly higher than the English boys, the difference between the former two groups being insignificant. English girls, on the other hand, scored significantly higher than the Cypriot girls, while the West Indian girls scored significantly higher than both other groups of girls. There was a significant difference between the 'interest in people' score of the two immigrant groups, one scoring higher and one lower than the English. The hypothesis 29 "English children are more interested in people than immigrant children" was not supported by evidence. It is difficult to account for the sex difference in the scores of the Cypriots. The result is rather baffling. It is hard to imagine that in the Cypriot culture, boys are socialised more than girls to take a greater interest in people.

The 'interest in people' scores were correlated with 'adjustment' scores. The set of obtained correlations is reproduced in Table 11.6. A positive correlation between 'interest in people' and adjustment and it s sub-scales was found in all the groups. The correlation was significant in the immigrant but not in the English group. Of the four sub-scales of 'adjustment', the correlation between 'interest in people' and 'freedom from anxiety' was the highest. It would appear that an interest in people increases

the probability of the harmonious adjustment of immigrant children. Hypothesis 30 "Interest in people is negatively related to the adjustment of immigrant children" was not supported by the evidence and was, therefore, rejected.

TABLE 11.4

MEAN 'INTEREST IN PEOPLE' SCORES

GROUP	MEAN	SD
All West Indians	49.65	11.23
West Indian Boys	45.26	9.76
West Indian Girls	54.04	10.93
All Cypriots	40.33	14.04
Cypriot Boys	42.25	15.37
Cypriot Girls	38.43	12.46
All English	41.86	14.24
English Boys	38.79	14.11
English Girls	44.94	13.78

TABLE 11.5

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MEAN 'INTEREST IN PEOPLE' SCORES

GROUPS CONTRASTED	DIFFERENCE	SIGNIFICANCE
All English vs All West Indians	-7.79	1%
All English vs All Cypriots	1.53	NS
All Cypriots vs All West Indians	-9.32	1%
English Boys vs West Indian Boys	-6.47	1%
English Boys vs Cypriot Boys	-3.46	NS
Cypriot Boys vs West Indian Boys	-3.01	NS
English Girls vs West Indian Girls	-9.10	1%
English Girls vs Cypriot Girls	6.51	1%
Cypriot Girls vs West Indian Girls	-15.61	1%

TABLE 11.6

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN 'INTEREST IN PEOPLE' AND 'ADJUSTMENT'

GROUPS	SA	PS	ANX	OS	CA
All West Indians	22/	19/	33/	20/	30/
West Indian Boys	29/	24*	33/	26*	35/
West Indian Girls	15	15	32/	15	25*
All Cypriots	22	34/	37/	25*	37/
Cypriot Boys	30	35*	37*	20	39*
Cypriot Girls	14	34*	36*	29	36*
All English	-08	09	08	18/	08
English Boys	-08	05	07	20*	08
English Girls	-07	13	09	15	09

*Denotes significance at 5% level.
/Denotes significance at 1% level.

Decimal points have been omitted from this table.

INTEREST IN IDEAS

Table 11.7 shows the mean 'interest in ideas' scores of the various groups.

TABLE 11.7

MEAN 'INTEREST IN IDEAS' SCORES

GROUP	MEAN	SD
All West Indians	31.49	12.16
West Indian Boys	30.74	13.22
West Indian Girls	32.24	11.02
All Cypriots	29.23	12.15
Cypriot Boys	29.68	11.80
Cypriot Girls	28.78	12.62
All English	35.11	19.69
English Boys	34.70	18.76
English Girls	35.53	20.68

The significance of the differences between the mean 'interest in ideas' scores of the various groups

are discussed in the Table 11.8. English children were found to be significantly more interested in ideas than immigrants, the difference being significant at the 5% level. The results thus contradicted the predictions of hypothesis 31, which stated "There is no difference in the extent to which English and Immigrant children are interested in ideas". The hypothesis was, therefore, rejected.

TABLE 11.8

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MEAN 'INTEREST IN IDEAS' SCORES

GROUPS CONTRASTED	DIFFERENCE	SIGNIFICANCE
All English vs All West Indians	3.62	5%
All English vs All Cypriots	5.88	1%
All Cypriots vs All West Indians	-2.26	NS
English Boys vs West Indian Boys	3.96	5%
English Boys vs Cypriot Boys	5.02	5%
Cypriot Boys vs West Indian Boys	-1.06	NS
English Girls vs West Indian Girls	3.29	NS
English Girls vs Cypriot Girls	6.75	5%
Cypriot Girls vs West Indian Girls	-3.46	NS

West Indians, scored higher than Cypriots but the difference was not statisticallysignificant at the 5%

level of significance. When the scores of the two sexes were analysed separately, a similar pattern of differences, with English, West Indians and Cypriots in that order, emerged in both boys and girls. However, with the exception of the differences between English boys and boys of the other two groups and English girls and Cypriot girls, all other differences did not reach the necessary 5% level of significance.

The correlations obtained between 'interest in ideas' and adjustment in various groups are reported in Table 11.9. A significant negative correlation between the 'interest in ideas' and adjustment and all its sub-scales was found in the immigrant groups. The correlation in the English groups was smaller but negative in all cases except one. The correlations in the English groups did not reach the 5% confidence level except in one case. A low correlation which was barely significant at 5% level between 'freedom from anxiety' and 'interest in ideas' was found in the English girls' group.

The results suggest that an immigrant child who is primarily interested in ideas is less likely to be well-adjusted than the one who is chiefly interested in people. Hypothesis 32 "Interest in ideas is unrelated to adjustment of immigrants" was thus, rejected.

TABLE 11.9

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN 'INTEREST IN IDEAS' AND ADJUSTMENT

GROUPS	SA	PS	ANX	OS	CA
All West Indians	-43/	-39/	-49/	-33/	-52/
West Indian Boys	-42/	-36/	-49/	-49/	-54/
West Indian Girls	-43/	-43/	-49/	-21*	-51/
All Cypriots	-38/	-37/	-40/	-32/	-47/
Cypriot Boys	-46/	-39/	-42/	-34*	-51/
Cypriot Girls	-26	-37*	-38*	-31*	-42/
All English	-02	-03	-10	-05	-07
English Boys	-01	-05	-01	-04	-03
English Girls	-01	01	-20*	-12	-10

*Denotes significance at 5% level
/Denotes significance at 1% level

Decimal points have been omitted from this table.

ATTITUDE TOWARDS SCHOOL

The mean 'attitude towards school' scores of the various groups are reported in Table 11.10.

TABLE 11.10

MEAN 'ATTITUDE TOWARDS SCHOOL' SCORES

GROUP	MEAN	SD
All West Indians	25.63	8.15
West Indian Boys	26.52	8.54
West Indian Girls	24.68	7.59
All Cypriots	24.25	7.76
Cypriot Boys	23.57	8.43
Cypriot Girls	24.93	6.93
All English	23.61	8.70
English Boys	21.59	8.68
English Girls	25.63	8.49

The differences between the mean 'attitude towards school' scores of the various groups are analysed in table 11.11.

TABLE 11.11

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN "ATTITUDE TOWARDS SCHOOL"

GROUPS CONTRASTED	DIFFERENCE	SIGNIFICANCE
All English vs All West Indians	-2.02	5%
All English vs All Cypriots	-0.64	NS
All Cypriots vs All West Indians	-1.38	NS
English Boys vs West Indian Boys	-4.93	1%
English Boys vs Cypriot Boys	-1.98	NS
Cypriot Boys vs West Indian Boys	-2.95	NS
English Girls vs West Indian Girls	0.95	NS
English Girls vs Cypriot Girls	0.70	NS
Cypriot Girls vs West Indian Girls	0.25	NS

West Indians were found to have the most and English the least favourable attitude towards school. The difference between West Indian and English mean scores was significant, while the differences between the means of Cypriot and the other two groups were insignificant at 5% level of confidence.

When the scores of the two sexes were analysed separately, a pattern similar to the one described above emerged in the boys. Among the girls, however, the English group obtained the highest mean score

followed by the Cypriots while the West Indian girls came last on this variable. The differences between the three groups of girls were small and statistically unreliable. Thus West Indian boys, but not the girls, had a significantly more favourable attitude towards school than children in other groups. Hypothesis 33 "Immigrant children have a more favourable attitude towards school than the English children" was thus partially supported by evidence. In the West Indies, a formal qualification is almost essential for a white-collar job. A white-collar occupation offers both higher prestige and financial rewards. School in the West Indies is usually looked upon as the route to better things, hence the more favourable attitude of the West Indians. The pressure for a bright career prospect is felt to a greater degree by boys than girls. This may well explain the sex difference among the West Indian group in their attitude toward school. The West Indian girls may not attach any special significance to attending school. There would therefore be no significant difference between them and the girls of the other two groups, on this variable.

The attitude scores were then correlated with the 'adjustment' scores. The obtained correlations are reproduced in Table 11.12.

A low positive correlation between 'attitude towards school' and 'adjustment' was found in all the groups. The correlations were not significant in the English groups. 'Social acceptability', and

TABLE 11.12

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN 'ATTITUDE TOWARDS SCHOOL' AND ADJUSTMENT

GROUP	SA	PS	ANX	OS	CA
All West Indians	21/	20/	07	25/	22/
West Indian Boys	21*	22*	13	26*	26*
West Indian Girls	20	18	00	23*	18
All Cypriots	28*	25*	26*	16	31/
Cypriot Boys	26	26	29	18	31*
Cypriot Girls	29	26	27	19	32*
All English	09	14*	08	13	14*
English Boys	13	15	07	05	13
English Girls	06	13	09	24*	16

*Denotes significance at 5% level
/Denotes significance at 1% level

Decimal points have been omitted from the table.

'personal satisfaction' correlated positively with the 'attitude towards school' in the West Indian and Cypriot groups but the correlations though of similar magnitude, were not high enough to be significant when the two immigrant groups were sub-divided by sex. Among West Indians, 'objectivity of the self-concept' and among Cypriots, 'freedom from anxiety' correlated positively and significantly with the attitude scale scores. It appears that an immigrant child who has a more favourable attitude towards school is also likely to be well-adjusted. Hypothesis 34 "Attitude towards school and adjustment are positively related among immigrant children" was confirmed by the results of this study.

VOCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS

Vocational aspirations are often associated

with interest, and some interest tests are based on vocational choice. The evidence about vocational aspirations and expectations, therefore is included in this chapter.

Table 11.13 shows the number of immigrant children who thought that they were capable of skilled, clerical or professional jobs. Their responses are compared with the control group of English children.

TABLE 11.13

CHILDREN ASPIRING TO SKILLED, CLERICAL OR PROFESSIONAL JOBS

GROUP	NUMBER	%
All West Indians	153	87.93
West Indian Boys	81	90.00
West Indian Girls	72	85.71
All Cypriots	65	85.53
Cypriot Boys	36	94.74
Cypriot Girls	29	76.32
All English	170	85.00
English Boys	86	86.00
English Girls	84	84.00

A very large proportion of boys in the three nationality groups thought that they were capable of, and deserved a skilled, clerical or professional job. The proportion was somewhat smaller in the girls. The difference between the vocational aspirations of the three groups were relatively small.

Table 11.14 shows the difference between the adjustment of pupils who aspired to a skilled or professional job and those who thought that such a position was beyond their capability. The differences

are shown in favour of the former group.

TABLE 11.14

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DIFFERENCES IN THE ADJUSTMENT SCORES OF CHILDREN WHO DID AND DID NOT ASPIRE TO A HIGH-STATUS JOB

GROUPS	SA	PS	OS	ANX	CA
All West Indians	-0.19	0.69	1.02	-1.10	0.42
West Indian Boys	1.54	2.86	1.95	-1.63	1.64
West Indian Girls	1.25	-1.63	0.03	-0.54	-0.89
All Cypriots	0.39	0.58	-0.54	-0.34	0.09
Cypriot Boys	2.10	0.93	0.46	-1.54	1.95
Cypriot Girls	-1.32	0.23	-1.54	0.86	-1.77
All English	-0.78	-0.03	1.63	-0.52	0.30
English Boys	-1.53	-1.24	2.00	1.36	0.59
English Girls	-0.03	1.19	1.26	-2.40	0.02

All differences are shown in favour of children who aspired to high status jobs.

No significant difference between the 'adjustment' of children, who did and did not aspire to a skilled, clerical or professional job, was found. It appears that vocational aspiration is not related to adjustment or any of its sub-scales. Hypothesis 35 "There is no difference in the adjustment of children who do and do not aspire to a high-status job" was supported by the evidence produced here.

VOCATIONAL EXPECTATIONS

Table 11.15 shows the number and proportion of children who expected to get a skilled, clerical or professional job.

TABLE 11.15

EXPECTATIONS OF SKILLED, CLERICAL OR PROFESSIONAL JOBS

GROUP	NUMBER	%
All West Indians	50	28.74
West Indian Boys	18	20.00
West Indian Girls	32	38.10
All Cypriots	22	28.95
Cypriot Boys	12	31.58
Cypriot Girls	10	26.32
All English	105	52.50
English Boys	56	56.00
English Girls	49	49.00

The proportion of immigrant children who thought that they would actually obtain something better than an unskilled, or semi-skilled job was much smaller when compared with the English sample. The proportion of those expecting to obtain a higher-status job was much higher among West Indian girls than in the boys. This may be due to the fact that nursing is usually recognised as a profession which is not colour-conscious, and a number of West Indian girls did expect to enter the nursing profession. It appears that the immigrant secondary school children were fully aware of the disadvantages they will have to face in trying to get a higher-status position. They did not appear to have much confidence about their success at the task.

Table 11.16 analyses the significance of the differences between the mean 'adjustment' scores of children in various groups who did and did not expect to obtain a skilled, clerical or professional

job. The differences are shown in favour of the optimists.

No significant difference in the mean 'adjustment' scores or any of its sub-scales, was found between the two groups. It seems that the fact that a child expects or does not expect to obtain a high-status job is unlikely to have an effect on his adjustment. Hypothesis 36 "Immigrant children who expect to obtain a high-status job are better adjusted than those who do not have such expectations" was, therefore, not supported by the results.

TABLE 11.16

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN CHILDREN WHO DID AND DID NOT EXPECT TO OBTAIN A HIGH-STATUS JOB

GROUP	SA	PS	OS	ANX	CA
All West Indians	-0.98	0.97	0.29	-0.63	-0.35
West Indian Boys	-0.46	0.89	0.56	-1.89	-0.90
West Indian Girls	-1.53	1.06	0.00	0.73	0.26
All Cypriots	-0.22	0.35	0.74	-1.17	-0.30
Cypriot Boys	0.89	1.59	-0.15	-1.56	0.77
Cypriot Girls	-1.32	-0.89	1.63	-0.77	-1.35
All English	-0.10	-0.04	-0.19	0.26	-0.07
English Boys	-1.06	-1.71	1.49	1.38	0.10
English Girls	0.86	1.63	-1.86	-0.86	-0.23

All differences are shown in favour of children who expected to get a higher-status job.

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN VOCATIONAL ASPIRATION AND EXPECTATION

Table 11.17 shows the number of children who thought that they were capable of, and deserved a skilled, clerical or professional position but did not expect to get such a job.

TABLE 11.17

NUMBER OF CHILDREN WHOSE VOCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS AND EXPECTATIONS WERE DIFFERENT

GROUPS	NUMBER	%
All West Indians	103	59.20
West Indian Boys	63	70.00
West Indian Girls	40	47.62
All Cypriots	43	56.58
Cypriot Boys	24	63.16
Cypriot Girls	19	50.00
All English	65	32.50
English Boys	30	30.00
English Girls	35	35.00

The proportion was alarmingly large among the immigrant population. A higher proportion of immigrant boys than girls thought that they would obtain jobs of an inferior kind than they deserved. 70% of the West Indian and 63% of the Cypriot boys as against 48% of the West Indian and 50% of the Cypriot girls envisaged obtaining an unskilled or semi-skilled job while they rated themselves capable of something better.

Table 11.18 shows the differences between the adjustment scores of children whose vocational aspirations and expectations were alike and different. The differences are shown in favour of the former group.

The mean adjustment scores of children whose vocational expectations were different from their vocational aspirations, were found to be significantly lower in all the groups. Their 'social acceptability', 'personal satisfaction' and 'freedom from anxiety'

scores were significantly lower. The 'objectivity of self-concept' score was also lower but the differences were not significant at 5% level of confidence. Ample evidence was found to support Hypothesis 37 which stated "Immigrant children whose vocational aspirations and expectations are similar are better adjusted than those whose vocational aspirations and expectations are different".

TABLE 11.18

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN ADJUSTMENT SCORES OF CHILDREN WHOSE VOCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS AND EXPECTATIONS WERE ALIKE AND DIFFERENT

GROUP	SA	PS	OS	ANX	CA
All West Indians	6.28/	12.33/	1.58	12.05/	32.24/
West Indian Boys	6.53/	12.65/	1.16	11.94/	32.28/
West Indian Girls	6.02/	11.98/	2.03	12.16/	32.19/
All Cypriots	6.28/	15.24/	1.57	8.50/	31.60/
Cypriot Boys	5.43*	16.92*	0.96	8.65*	31.96*
Cypriot Girls	7.13*	13.56*	2.19	8.36*	31.24*
All English	4.91/	11.34/	1.25	11.68/	29.18/
English Boys	4.89/	10.26/	0.73	11.57/	27.45/
English Girls	4.93/	12.41/	1.76	11.79/	30.89/

*Denotes significance at 5% level.
/Denotes significance at 1% level.

All differences are shown in favour of children whose vocational expectations and aspirations were similar.

The results suggest that a difference between the vocational aspirations and expectations may be a major factor in the adjustment of all children, immigrants and English alike. The aspects of adjustment which seem to be most affected are 'personal satisfaction' and 'freedom from anxiety'.

MULTIPLE CORRELATION

At this stage, an attempt was made to develop a multiple criterion predictor of the 'adjustment' of immigrant children. Of the variables studied, four were chosen for the purpose of computation of the multiple correlation. Four was chosen as the number of independent variables because taking a larger number would significantly increase the amount of computation, would add very little or nothing to the multiple correlation and would increase the difficulty of interpreting the correlation so obtained. The reasons for selecting these variables were:-

(a) they were measured quantitatively,

(b) they showed high correlation with the dependent variable, and

(c) they showed low correlation with each other.

Academic achievement, I.Q., Extraversion and 'Interest in things' were employed as the independent variables and a multiple correlation with adjustment, the dependent variable was calculated. The results obtained are shown in table 11.19.

TABLE 11.19

MULTIPLE CORRELATION WITH ADJUSTMENT

GROUP	MULTIPLE R
West Indians	0.5492/
Cypriots	0.5954/
English	0.5253/

/Denotes significance at 1% level.

The multiple correlations obtained are moderately high.

The obtained partial correlation coefficients (Beta coefficients) of each variable with 'adjustment' (with the other three variables partialled out) are shown in table 11.20.

TABLE 11.20

PARTIAL CORRELATIONS WITH 'ADJUSTMENT'

GROUP	r12.345	r13.245	r14.235	r15.234
West Indians	0.2495/	0.1335	0.2918/	-0.1611/
Cypriots	0.2341/	0.1329	0.2576*	-0.2463/
English	0.2052/	0.1073	0.2843/	-0.1633/

1 = Adjustment
2 = Academic achievement
3 = I.Q.
4 = Extraversion
5 = Interest in things

*Denotes significance at 5% level of confidence.
/Denotes significance at 1% level of confidence.

Academic achievement, Extraversion and 'interest in things' were each found to be significantly related to 'adjustment' in all the three groups tested even when the effect of the other three variables was partialled out. The partial correlation between I.Q. and 'adjustment', on the other hand, fell below the 5% level of confidence, in all the three groups, when the effect of 'academic achievement', 'extraversion' and 'interest in things' was partialled out. It appears that I.Q. has little *independent* relationship with 'adjustment'. It thus seems possible that the prediction about the future adjustment of immigrant children could be made on a rough-and-ready basis if not accurately. In any case, it should

be possible to pick out, with fair accuracy, the immigrant children who are likely to fall in the lower 10% of the adjustment scale, on the basis of the four variables studied here and other qualitative measures used in the study which are found to be significantly related to 'adjustment'.

CASE HISTORIES

The case histories recorded are reported in Appendix A. There was some indication that if the specific interest of an immigrant child brought him in close contact with other English children, he was likely to be 'well adjusted'. For example, if he supported the local football club and went to see them play accompanied by English children, he was likely to be above-average on the 'adjustment' scale. Similarly, if there was even one redeeming feature in his personality, such as outstanding success in sports, he was likely to be 'well-adjusted'.

Apart from these two indications, no consistent pattern emerged from the case-histories. The earlier hopes of studying interaction effects of antecedent variables through case-histories was not fulfilled.

CHAPTER 12

SUMMARY OF RESULTS

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN ENGLISH AND IMMIGRANT CHILDREN

STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES

1. English children were better adjusted than immigrant children.
2. English children were more socially acceptable than West Indians.
3. English children were more personally satisfied than immigrant children.
4. English children were less anxious than immigrant children.
5. English children had a more objective self-concept than immigrants.
6. Academically, immigrant children achieved less than English children.
7. West Indians had higher non-academic achievement than English children.
8. English children had a much higher attainment in English than immigrant children.
9. The fluency of English children's spoken English was much higher than that of immigrants.
10. Immigrant children had less extensive vocabulary than English children.
11. Immigrant children had a lower mean non-verbal intelligence test score than English children.
12. Immigrants were more extraverted than English children.
13. English children were less interested in things than immigrant children.
14. English children were less interested in people than West Indians.
15. Immigrant children were less interested in ideas than English children.

16. West Indian boys had a more favourable attitude towards school than English boys.

17. Far more immigrant children were living in multiple-occupation houses than English children.

NON-SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES

No significant differences were found between the

1. Social acceptability of Cypriot and English children.
2. Non-academic achievement of English and Cypriot children.
3. Interest in people of English and Cypriot children; and
4. Cypriot and English children's attitude towards school.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN IMMIGRANTS

STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES

1. Cypriots were better adjusted than West Indians.
2. Cypriots were more socially acceptable than West Indians.
3. West Indians were more anxious than Cypriots.
4. Cypriots had a more objective self-concept than West Indians.
5. West Indians had higher non-academic achievement than Cypriots.
6. West Indian boys' spoken English was more fluent than that of Cypriot boys.
7. The spoken English of Cypriot girls was more fluent than that of West Indian girls.
8. West Indians showed more interest in people than Cypriots.

NON-SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES

No significant difference was found between the

West Indians and Cypriots on the following variables.

1. Personal Satisfaction.
2. Academic Achievement.
3. Attainment in English.
4. Vocabulary.
5. Intelligence test scores.
6. I.Q.
7. Extraversion.
8. Interest in things.
9. Interest in ideas.
10. Attitude towards school.

CORRELATES OF ADJUSTMENT

The following variables showed a positive and significant correlation with adjustment scores.

1. Academic achievement.
2. English attainment.
3. Extraversion.
4. Interest in people.
5. Attitude towards school.
6. Having English friends.
7. Family being on visiting terms with English families.
8. Middle-class (This finding is tentative as it could not be tested statistically).

The following variables were found to be negatively and significantly related to adjustment.

1. Family size.
2. Interest in things.
3. Interest in ideas (in all groups except English boys).
4. Difference in vocational aspiration and expectation.

The following variables were not found to be significantly related to adjustment.

1. Age.
2. Age at time of emigration.
3. Length of residence in the U.K.
4. Intention of returning home.
5. Living with one parent (Except in the West Indian group, where the children living with both parents were found to be better adjusted).
6. Mother going out to work.
7. Non-academic achievement.
8. Fluency of spoken English.
9. Vocabulary.
10. Intelligence test scores.
11. English boys' interest in ideas.
12. English children's attitude towards school.
13. Living in multiple-occupation houses.
14. Expectation of high-status job.
15. Aspiration for high-status job.
16. I.Q.

CORRELATES OF SOCIAL ACCEPTABILITY

The following variables were found to be positively and significantly related to social acceptability.

1. Academic achievement.
2. Attainment in English.
3. I.Q.
4. Extraversion.
5. Interest in people of West Indian children.
6. Immigrant children's attitude towards school.
7. Friendship of English children.
8. Visits to and by English families.

The following variables were found to be negatively and significantly related to social acceptability.

1. Immigrant children's interest in things.
2. Immigrant children's interest in ideas.
3. Expectation of a low-status job while aspiring for a high-status one.

The following variables showed no significant correlation with social acceptability.

1. Age.
2. Age at time of emigration.
3. Length of residence in the U.K.
4. Intention of returning home.
5. Living with one or both parents.
6. Mother going out to work.
7. Family size.
8. Non-academic achievement.
9. Fluency of spoken English.
10. Vocabulary.
11. Intelligence test scores.
12. English children's interest in things.
13. Cypriot and English children's interest in people.
14. English children's interest in ideas.
15. English children's attitude towards school.
16. Expectation of a high-status job.
17. Aspiration for a high-status job.
18. Living in multiple-occupation houses.

CORRELATES OF PERSONAL SATISFACTION

The variables shown below were found to be positively and significantly related to Personal satisfaction.

1. Academic achievement.
2. Attainment in English.
3. I.Q.
4. Extraversion.
5. Immigrant children's interest in people.
6. Attitude towards school.
7. Friendship with English children.
8. Social relations of the family with English families.

The following variables were found to be negatively and significantly related to Personal satisfaction.

1. Living with one Cypriot parent.
2. West Indian and English children's family size.
3. Immigrant children's interest in things.
4. Immigrant children's interest in ideas.
5. Expectation of a low-status job while aspiring for a high-status job.
6. Cypriot children's intention of returning home.

The variables listed below were not found to be significantly related to personal satisfaction.

1. Age.
2. Age at time of emigration.
3. Length of residence in the U.K.
4. West Indian children's intention of returning home.
5. Living with less than two English or West Indian parents.
6. Mother going out to work.
7. Family size of Cypriot children.
8. Non-academic achievement.
9. Fluency of spoken English.
10. Vocabulary.

11. Non-verbal intelligence test scores.
12. English children's interest in things, people or ideas.
13. Expectation of a high-status job.
14. Aspiration to a high-status job.
15. Living in multiple-occupation houses.

CORRELATES OF FREEDOM FROM ANXIETY

Freedom from anxiety was found to be positively and significantly related to the following variables.

1. Living with both West Indian parents.
2. Academic achievement.
3. Attainment in English.
4. I.Q.
5. Extraversion.
6. Cypriot children's attitude towards school.
7. Immigrant children's interest in people.
8. Friendship with English children.
9. Social relations of family with English families.

The following variables were found to be negatively and significantly related to freedom from anxiety.

1. Cypriot children's intention of returning home.
2. Family size.
3. Interest in things.
4. Immigrant children and English girls' interest in ideas.
5. Expectation of a low-status job while aspiring for a high-status job.

The following variables did not show any significant correlation with freedom from anxiety.

1. Age.
2. Age at time of emigration.
3. Length of residence in the U.K.
4. Immigrant children's intention of returning home.
5. Living with one or both Cypriot or English parents.
6. Mother going out to work.
7. Non-academic achievement.
8. Fluency of spoken English.
9. Vocabulary.
10. Non-verbal intelligence test scores.
11. English children's interest in people and ideas.
12. West Indian and English children's attitude towards school.
13. Expectation of a high-status job.
14. Aspiration for a high-status job.
15. Living in a multiple-occupation house.

CORRELATES OF THE OBJECTIVITY OF SELF-CONCEPT

A positive and significant correlation was found between the objectivity of self-concept and the following variables.

1. Academic achievement.
2. Attainment in English.
3. I.Q.
4. Immigrant children's extraversion.
5. Interest in people.
6. West Indian children and English girls' attitude towards school.
7. Friendship with English children.
8. Social relations of family with English families.

The following variables were found to be negatively and significantly related to objectivity

of self-concept.

1. Cypriot girls' age at time of emigration.
2. West Indian girls' family size.
3. Immigrant children's interest in things.
4. Immigrant children's interest in ideas.

No significant correlation was found between the objectivity of self-concept and the following variables.

1. Age.
2. Age at time of emigration (except in Cypriot girls).
3. Length of residence in the U.K.
4. Intention of returning home.
5. Living with one or both parents.
6. Mother going out to work.
7. Family size (except in West Indian girls).
8. Non-academic achievement.
9. Fluency of spoken English.
10. Vocabulary.
11. Non-verbal intelligence test scores.
12. English children's interest in things and ideas.
13. Cypriot and English boys' attitude towards school.
14. Expectation of a high-status job.
15. Aspiration for a high-status job.
16. Difference between job-aspiration and job-expectation.
17. Living in a multiple-occupation house.
18. Extraversion among English children.

SUPPLEMENTARY FINDINGS

1. 87.9% of the West Indians aspired to a white-collar or skilled job but only 28.7% expected to get one. The comparative figures for Cypriots and English children were 85.5%- 28.9% and 85.0%- 52.5% respectively.

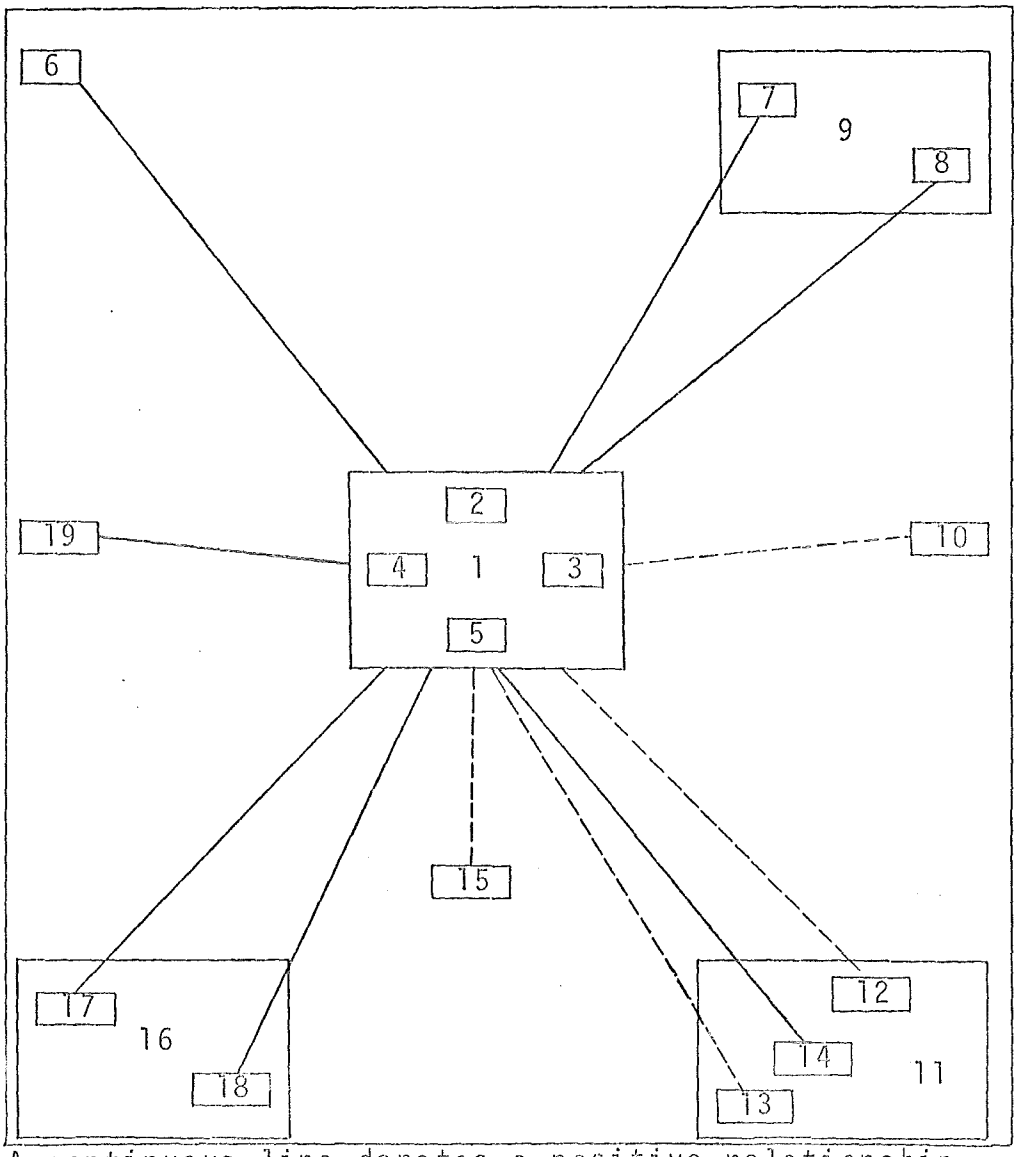
2. 80.5% of the West Indians as against 48.6% Cypriots and 6.0% of the English children were living in a house occupied by more than one family.

3. 76.3% of the Cypriots but only 22.4% of the West Indians claimed the friendship of even one English child.

4. 14.5% of the Cypriots and 2.9% of the West Indians claimed an English child to be their 'best friend'.

5. Only 13.2% of the Cypriot and 2.9% of the West Indian families were on visiting terms with an English family.

THE MODIFIED PARADIGM



A continuous line denotes a positive relationship.
A broken line denotes a negative relationship.
The symbols are explained on the next page.

Symbols used in the paradigm

1 = 'Adjustment'
2 = Social Acceptability
3 = Personal Satisfaction
4 = Freedom from anxiety
5 = Objectivity of the self-concept
6 = Attitude towards school
7 = Attainment in written English
8 = Attainment in academic subjects
9 = Attainment at school
10 = Family size
11 = Interests
12 = Interest in Things
13 = Interest in Ideas
14 = Interest in People
15 = Difference between vocational expectations and aspirations
16 = Social Relations
17 = Social relations of the child
18 = Social relations of the family
19 = Extraversion

THE MODIFIED PARADIGM

The paradigm outlined in the Chapter 4 was modified as a consequence of the results reported here. The modified paradigm is reproduced earlier.

It is interesting to note that the personal particulars or home background factors such as age, the age at the time of emigration, intention of returning home, and the like were not found to be related to the 'adjustment' of immigrant children. The only exception to this general rule was the family size.

The next chapter discusses the theoretical and the practical implications of these results.

CHAPTER 13

CONCLUSIONS

The findings of this study are, on the whole, alarming. There appears to be a huge gap between the adjustment of English and immigrant children. Within a few years these children will be leaving school badly equipped intellectually, emotionally and socially, to cope with the rough and tumble of life in the outside world. It seems likely that they will be at the end of the employment queue. A feeling of utter social, economic and emotional rejection in an individual already over-anxious could play havoc and produce quite unpredictable results. The ingredients of a racial dilemma, like that in America, appear to be present in Britain. If this country is to avoid racial riots, burning, shooting, and general racial intolerance, the time to act has long been overdue.

There seems to have been a general belief in this country that given time, the racial problems would solve themselves, that bad race relations are the product of "sensational press" reporting, and the less the matter is subjected to scientific investigation and discussion, the better, also that it is not so much a matter of achieving integration as treating it as an established fact, right from the beginning. No such belief is supported by the findings of this study. The adjustment of children born here of immigrant parents was no better than that

of those who emigrated to this country. The former were no more socially acceptable, personally satisfied with the situation in which they found themselves, or less anxious than the latter. Nor is the length of stay in this country related to any of these variables. The children who had lived in this country for ten or more years were likely to be as maladjusted as those who had been here two years or less. The theory, "do nothing, take no notice, time is a great healer, all will be well", finds no support whatever in this study.

Adjustment is a two-way process, a give and take affair. Among other things, it involves acceptance of the social situation into which one is thrust, as well as acceptance of oneself by others in the community. As far as the acceptance by others in the community is concerned, the immigrant children appear to be at a serious disadvantage, West Indians being the most handicapped. Two theories have been advanced to account for the unacceptability of immigrants. The class-culture theory implies that social acceptability in Britain is based on the social class and cultural background of the individual. This attitude is passed onto the children through their parents, other adults and socialising agents. Immigrants are traditionally viewed as members of an ex-colonial society and belong to a social class below the British working class. The members of the British working classes though lowest in the social ladder in Britain are nevertheless, nationals of a ruling country and hence superior to those who were or are being ruled. The status of

the indigenous British population is lowered by associating with the immigrants and hence the social rejection. The stranger theory is that in a society with a norm of mild xenophobia, the immigrants are seen as 'foreigners' both in appearance, food habits, language and behaviour patterns. Both theories appear to ignore external appearance or colour of the skin as a major criterion of social acceptance, and would predict that both Cypriots and West Indians would be accepted or rejected almost equally. In fact this is not the case. There was no significant difference between the social acceptability of Cypriot and English children, but West Indian children were perceived as the 'out-group' and rejected. It may be argued that the Cypriots have a less 'alien' culture and behaviour pattern than the West Indians. On examination this is revealed to be untrue. In language, family relationships, religion and traditions, Cypriots, if anything, have less in common with the English than the West Indians. It is the West Indians and not the Cypriots who treat England as their mother country and try to adhere closely to the English pattern of behaviour. This leaves only one factor, external appearance or the colour of the skin. There seems little doubt that the colour is a major factor in social acceptance of immigrant children. The sooner this fact is accepted by all the better for all concerned.

In the area of social relations of immigrant children and their families the results of this study were completely unexpected. The borough where

the research was conducted has had no racial incidents though the relations between the different communities were not relaxed. The study revealed little integration in the friendship patterns of the children of different races. 135 out of a total of 174 West Indian children could not claim the friendship of even one English child, and only five said that they considered an English child as their 'best friend'. The position of Cypriots was a little better. Out of 76 children tested, 11 claimed an English child as their 'best friend' and 58 had at least one English friend. Colour again appears to have been a significant factor in the friendship choices. The school did precious little actively to encourage integration. No discrimination of any kind was practised at the school and there was no evidence that the teachers treated children of different racial backgrounds differently. The reason for non-action on the integration front was the refusal to accept that there actually was so little integration between the races in the school. After spending two years at the school, the investigator would not have predicted, through subjective experience, the extent of non-integration discovered by this study.

There is little doubt that the friendship pattern at school reflects the general pattern of racial and ethnic relations of the community. Of the 174 West Indians only five reported that their families were on visiting terms with an English family. Cypriots were in a little better position. 10 of the 76

Cypriots tested reported as having visits from and paying visits to at least one English family. The children who claimed the friendship of at least one English child and children whose families were on visiting terms with the English, were better adjusted than others. In other words immigrant children who maintained close social relations with the English children had a much better chance of making a satisfactory adjustment than others. Integration is found therefore to be necessary if 'adjustment' is to be achieved.

The results of this study suggest that the 'social relations' of immigrants are one area in which the social workers, community leaders and teachers could make a substantial contribution. At school the teachers might start by giving up the pipe dream that integration is the inevitable result of rubbing shoulders in the classroom. It obviously is not. Integration can be achieved only through deliberately planned policies aimed at this end. It would be necessary for headmasters to raise this topic in assemblies, and teachers would need to discuss the matter in the classroom. Lack of racial tension and racial incidents in a school need not necessarily be an indication of racial integration. Only racially integrated schools will produce citizens capable of accepting the realities of a multi-racial society without friction. The integration in schools is required to be not merely physical but psychological.

In a society which seems to reject them, it is only logical that the West Indians should be dis-

satisfied with the social situation in which they find themselves. Cypriots, on the other hand, who appear to be more socially acceptable than the West Indians, are nevertheless, not significantly less personally satisfied. Their dissatisfaction with the social situation is almost as great. Both groups of immigrants show considerably more anxiety than their English counterparts. This appears to be fundamentally due to the emotional and motivational difficulties involved in the process of resocialisation into the Western culture. The difficulties of moving from one world to another almost overnight, of living in two cultures simultaneously, one inside the home and the other outside, of acquiring alien and sometimes unobtainable status symbols, of coming to terms with a society which makes unwelcoming gestures, represent a struggle for existence which is comparable to the biological struggle for survival. Even those who emerge successfully appear to be emotionally and intellectually maimed for life. Unless steps are taken to remedy the situation, this tremendous stress could produce a phenomenal increase in the rate of severe behaviour disorders and juvenile delinquency amongst immigrant children in this country.

Evidence was found in this study to support the theory that immigrant children are unsure of their identity. There was a huge gap between the way they saw themselves and the way they were seen by others. Man is a socius. The concept of the 'looking glass self' which has been put forward to explain the development of self-concept postulates that we know

ourselves only through others, through interpreting the impressions we make on others. In every culture there are cues which are employed to indicate how one is reacting at a given moment. Moving across cultures, would make detecting and interpreting these cues, difficult.

As might be expected, the immigrants were lacking in all aspects of verbal skills. Verbal skill is thought of here solely in terms of ability in the language of the land, English. Their attainment in written English, fluency of spoken English, and vocabulary were all poor when compared with English children. It seems that immigrant children are in urgent need of special coaching in English. Not only those who cannot fully understand their teachers and are, therefore, unable to attend normal classes need special coaching, but it appears that all immigrant children could benefit by extra English coaching.

It is interesting to note that ability at written English of the kind commonly taught and examined at schools, and not spoken English, was related to immigrant children's adjustment. It may be that ability at written English is an important factor in attainment in all school subjects and hence its importance for the immigrant child. This is an area where positive effort could be made. The point seems worth stressing that ability at written English seems relevant not only for the progress of an immigrant child at school subjects, but also for his general psychological well-being. "Every teacher is a teacher of English" should acquire a new significance for the teachers of immigrant pupils. Although some

effort has been made by schools to give immigrant children some special coaching in English, this in the past, has been limited to the children with no or little English. The school where the present survey was conducted, for example, gave special instruction in English to some Cypriots and a handful of West Indians whose standard of written and spoken English was very inadequate. This study has shown that there is a need for special coaching in English to a very large section of immigrant children.

Written English is an important factor in all school subjects except Mathematics. If the attainment of immigrant children was poor in English, it follows that their attainment in other school subjects would necessarily be poor. This was indeed the case. It must be remembered that the proportion of immigrant children in Grammar and Public schools is very small and that only the most able of the secondary modern pupils manage to get into professional or even 'white collar' jobs. The possibility that the immigrant school-leavers would be offered only the "left-over" jobs appears real. Since immigrant children are likely to attain a lower standard at school subjects, they are likely to have less favourable recommendations from their teachers, and even given an unprejudiced employer, if they acquire a job at all, it would probably be of an inferior type. If no action is taken it seems likely that a norm would soon emerge that immigrant workers are considered suitable for only certain kinds of jobs. To a certain extent it is

already happening. The situation at the moment appears to be fluid, but given a few more years of laissez faire,the attitudes of both English and immigrant communities may begin to harden, with unsavoury consequences for all.

There seems to be no justification for schools to produce immigrant children whose standard of attainment is lower than that of their English counterparts. The 1944 Education Act imposes a duty upon the local education authorities to educate children according to their "age, ability and aptitude". Schools seem to be failing in their duty with respect to immigrant children. It may be argued by some that this is because of the lower 'educational potential' of immigrant children. The mean scores of immigrant children on intelligence tests, including a non-verbal test, are lower than those of English children. The point has already been made in Chapter 7 that there is no intelligence test, not even a non-verbal one, which is "culture-free". A non-verbal intelligence test is only measuring the fluid general ability of immigrant children while it is measuring the fluid as well as the crystallised general ability of the English children. Any comparison is therefore, meaningless. The mere substitution of non-verbal in place of verbal tests does not make evaluation of cognitive abilities free of cultural influences (Jahoda, 1956). Cross-cultural comparative studies of cognitive abilities are only useful in measuring the limits of modifiability of behaviour. They provide opportunities to study

the effects of environmental influences upon the development and structure of abilities (Guthrie, 1963). The use of cross-cultural studies for the purpose of cross-cultural comparison is invalid because it is impossible to equate the environmental influences (Bieshuvel, 1958a). The only valid conclusion one could draw from the differences between the mean non-verbal intelligence scores of the immigrant and English children is the extent to which the immigrant group suffers from 'cultural deprivation' and hence needs special attention.

Many immigrant children arrive in Britain with very different educational and social backgrounds. Some of them come from rural, preindustrial cultures and move straight into the classroom in the middle of the industrial Midlands. The point that they may need different teaching methods, educational aids, and classroom organisation seems to have been completely lost on their teachers. Few teachers have been trained to cope with immigrant children. There is virtually no research to show what kind of audio-visual aids could be usefully employed. It is hardly surprising under the circumstances that their attainment is poor.

American studies were not discussed earlier because sociological and cultural backgrounds were very dissimilar from those in Britain. Results, however, suggest that possibly universal psychological mechanisms may account for findings in the U.S.A. and Britain more than was conjectured. Among American studies those of Katz dealing with achievement

motivation are relevant. According to Atkinson (1964)the striving for success is a function of (a) McClelland's n-ach, (b) subjective probability for success, and (c) incentive value of success. Subjective probability of success is the assessment by the individual of his chances of succeeding at the task. The subjective probability of success decreases as the difficulty of the task or its incentive value increases. Hence the striving is at its maximum when the subjective probability of success is 0.5. Katz (1964) has reviewed a number of studies to suggest that the Negroes in the U.S.A. tend to under-achieve in a predominantly white class due to their lower subjective expectancy of success. Katz (1967) asked fresh-men in a Southern Negro college to perform a digital-symbol task. The subjects were told that their performance would be compared with predominantly white colleges. Through false feedback, a third of the testees each were told that they had a high, even or little chance of equalling white performance. Atkinson's theory would predict that in this situation testees with even probability would perform better. The results were in accordance with the prediction. A similar mechanism may well be at work amongst immigrant children in British schools.

Although the hypothesis of "poor educational potential" cannot be tested until the immigrant children have had a fair deal, it seems to be by-passing the important motivational factors and would offer only very inadequate explanation. Meanwhile,

it is perhaps a wise policy to reject the hypothesis as being 'untestable but unlikely to be true' and socially dangerous. Although it does not seem open to experimental verification, the alternative explanation of 'cultural deprivation' seems to be both humane and forward-looking, as well as likely.

The cultural bias in the performance at school is noticeable when one examines the non-academic achievement at games, sports, swimming and boxing. The West Indians and Negroes have acquired a reputation of being outstanding athletes, cricketers and boxers. The performance of the West Indian children at school was superior to any other group. One may again attempt to explain the difference in terms of 'greater potential' of West Indians for these activities. The alternative explanation along the 'cultural norm' lines seems more plausible, however. The young West Indian perhaps learns his expected role early in life and endeavours to fulfill his role-expectation. The investigator, walking in the school playgrounds, noticed many times, a disproportionate number of West Indians playing cricket and practising at athletics, sometimes long after school hours. Having succeeded at these activities, these children continue to practice hard and work for their moments of glory. There is nothing which succeeds like success.

Once it is accepted that the non-academic achievement of the West Indian is due to greater motivation aroused through success leading to greater effort put into perfecting the skill, it must also

be conceded that a similar mechanism could also operate for academic achievement. Once a proportion of immigrant children have tasted success at academic tasks, the process should become, to a large extent, self-sustaining. It is now fairly well established that all human abilities, including cognitive abilities and sensory-motor skills, are positively correlated (Vernon, 1956). If the West Indians have a higher non-academic achievement, it is unlikely that they would have an 'inferior potential' for intellectual tasks.

Immigrant children's more favourable attitude towards school must be a great help to their teachers. This is a fact that the teachers could well employ to both his and his pupils' advantage. This attitude was found to be positively related to adjustment. So development of a favourable attitude towards school, in the long run, may help in solving the adjustment problems of immigrant children. But if immigrant children should begin to feel that they would come out of school far less able to cope with life than their English counter-parts, that school stamps them authoritatively as "less able" the relatively favoural attitude could well be replaced by an unfavourable one. The problem would then become far more difficult and troublesome to deal with. This is one more reason that *urgency* should be the watchword in the changes that must necessarily be brought about in the education of immigrants in Britain.

The pattern of the interests of immigrant children was found to be different from that of the

English children. Coming from a relatively impoverished environment in their countries of origin, material possessions are their first priority. Almost all immigrants come to Britain to enjoy a better standard of living or to save enough money to go back home and live in comfort. The immigrants must, therefore, be very interested in things. This pattern is reflected in the interests of their children. Such an interest, however, is negatively related to their adjustment.

The reason for such negative relationship seems to lie in the vocational expectations of immigrant children. A very large proportion of them thought that they were capable of doing a skilled or a white-collar job but expected to obtain an unskilled job. As a rule, unskilled jobs are less well paid than skilled ones. An individual interested in things is less likely to be happy with the prospects of a low-paid job offering less opportunity to acquire things.

It is interesting to note that neither the vocational aspirations nor the expectations were related to adjustment. Only when a child's vocational expectations and aspirations were *different* was he more likely to be less well-adjusted than a child whose vocational aspirations and expectations were alike. The former perhaps feels that he is unlikely to get a fair deal from the employers, and develops a sense of resentment which undermines his adjustment. A child is unlikely to be well-adjusted in a society which is perceived as likely to discriminate

against him and take away the prize he richly deserves. In the light of the lower academic achievement of immigrant children, their vocational aspirations certainly seem on the optimistic side. To obtain a white-collar job in England, a certain level of attainment at school is essential, a basic qualification many immigrant children lacked. Though many of them stayed on at school after attaining the school-leaving age, only a very small proportion managed to get any 'O' levels or even good marks at the school examinations. The teachers could help here. If the teachers are able to discuss the matter frankly and help the immigrant children to arrive at a more realistic assessment of their employment potential, namely to convince these children that colour prejudice is not the *only* reason why most immigrant school-leavers get unskilled jobs, a great deal of heart burning might be saved, they might bear less resentment and their adjustment might improve.

The living conditions of immigrant children were poorer when compared with the English children. A much larger proportion of immigrant children were living in houses occupied by more than one family. Presumably the immigrant families had more restricted living quarters with a common living room. The children may have had no opportunity to do their homework or studies in a quiet place. This might have been a contributory factor towards the lower academic achievement of immigrant children.

The study showed that teachers' assessment of

factors related to adjustment of immigrant children is not always a reliable guide. About 93% of the teachers thought that command over spoken English was related to adjustment. This was not supported by the evidence produced here. Among other variables suggested by the teachers as being of significance to the adjustment of immigrant children but found unrelated by the results of this study were, length of residence in Britain, age at time of emigration and intention of returning home. The London Head Teachers Association (1965), for example, suggested that receiving the full range of education in this country contributes significantly towards the solution of immigrant children's problems. On commonsense grounds one would have predicted that children who have lived in this country since birth or for a long time, children who emigrated at an early age and children whose parents do not intend returning home would be better adjusted than others. This was not found to be the case. Teachers' assessments, therefore, are useful starting points for research in this area but are hardly a substitute of research. Results predicted by either commonsense or experience grounds may not always be supported by objective evidence. The education of immigrants, an area full of emotive content, is desperately in need of 'hard research' to uncover objective evidence.

One of the most interesting points to emerge from this study was that, on the whole, the pattern was very similar to the one found among English

children. The immigrant children are perhaps placed in a more socially cultural stressful situation and hence are less adjusted than their English contemporories. The methods to combat maladjustment, therefore, need not be radically different for the immigrant and the English groups. Immigrant children suffer from 'cultural deprivation' as do many English children in the 'deprived areas'. Immigrant children have helped to bring the problems of 'culturally deprived' children, immigrant as well as English, sharply into focus.

WHAT CAN BE DONE?

The first priority in the field of education of immigrants today is an explicit recognition by all concerned that a serious problem exists, that an integrated classroom does not automatically lead to an integrated friendship pattern outside the classroom, that inaction will lead to an aggravation rather than towards the solution of the problem. Unless it is conceded that a problem exists, no attempt is likely to be made towards devising means to overcome that problem. There is an urgent need to collect statistics about immigrant children. At the present time, the statistics are both scarce and incomplete. The fear that one may be labelled 'racialist' just because one puts the English and the immigrant children in different categories for statistical purposes, is as groundless as it is unconstructive. The education of immigrants will not be helped by burying our heads in the sand, and a refusal to accept that a problem exists. The

assumption that the immigrant and the English children are alike in all respects and should therefore, receive identical treatment in the classroom, though based on goodwill and worthy intention, is a positive stumbling block in the path of a realistic assessment of the situation.

The teachers may help by bringing the problems of race relations into open classroom discussion. A number of racial myths held by both the English and the immigrants could thus be thrown open to discussion and systematically exploded. Integration between children of different ethnic backgrounds would not be achieved simply through putting them under one roof at school. It will come only through policies deliberately directed towards that end.

> When immigrant children arrive in this country, the teachers in many cases, will have to play the role of the main socialising agency. The teacher may be the only English adult with whom the child interacts extensively and over a period of time. To be effective the teacher would not only need to know the cultural background of the child but he would also require an understanding of the problems faced by a child in an alien land, climate, culture, educational system, sometimes without familiarity with the English language. Special courses for teachers of immigrant children will have to be provided on a far more extensive scale than they are now. Few teachers have a realistic knowledge of the cultural background of immigrant children, still fewer are trained to teach English as a foreign language.

Ability at English language of the kind normally taught and examined at school, and academic achievement was found to be positively related to adjustment. Teachers could be of a great help here. The school should place a great emphasis on tuition in written English to *all* immigrants.

Teachers should advise children to adjust their vocational aspirations to a more realistic appraisal of their employment prospects. A discussion of the level of ability and attainment required for the various types of jobs, of the disadvantages a child from working class background suffers in the employment field regardless of his colour, could alleviate the problem a little. Many immigrant children have a frame of reference with regard to the employment prospects, which is of little relevance in this country. In the West Indies, for example, a boy who has stayed on at a school until 16 would expect to obtain at least a clerical position. The West Indians may well have a similar expectation here. And if the expectation is not fulfilled, they may feel that it is as a result of discrimination. This is not to say that there is no discrimination against immigrants in employment. The P.E.P. report (1967) collected strong evidence to show that there was a considerable amount of discrimination against coloured immigrants by the employers. Nevertheless, the immigrant children in this study did seem to be over-optimistic about their abilities and guidance in this field could be very useful.

Immigrant parents could make a contribution by realising that academic achievement is of a great importance to the welfare of the child. The children should be helped with their homework, allowed a quiet place to study and generally encouraged to do well at school. Visits to museums, places of historical interest and activities aimed at enlarging their reservoir of experience should be encouraged.

Friendship with English children should be promoted. The child is likely to be well-adjusted if his family is socially accepted by all his neighbours, English and immigrant alike. Social apartheid, whether voluntary or otherwise, is injurious to the adjustment of the immigrant child. Integration of parents seems to be an essential condition of the integration and adjustment of the children. Immigrant parents should, therefore, make deliberate attempts to be friendly with all races in the community in which they live.

The problems of adjustment of immigrant children are in many ways, a magnified version of the problems of culturally deprived English children. If we are committed to giving "equal opportunities to all" we will have to discriminate positively in favour of culturally deprived children to give them a fair chance. The problem could be overcome by providing extra facilities in the way of extra teachers, equipment, training and buildings to *all* culturally deprived children English and immigrant alike. Plowden Report (1967) made some eminently sensible suggestionsfor dealing with the 'deprived areas'.

The sooner the recommendations of that report are implemented the better.

The social acceptability of immigrant children appears to be reflecting the general state of race relations in the country. Schools by themselves, may not succeed in producing integration. The general state of race relations could be improved by tackling the real sources of friction. If English people and immigrants have to compete for inadequate facilities in the field of education, housing and jobs, racial prejudice is the only likely outcome. A programme for better educational facilities, quicker slum clearance and reduced unemployment in the deprived areas would alone solve the social problem of prejudice in the long run.

In conclusion, it may be said that although schools have a contribution to make towards achieving racial harmony, alone they are inadequate for the task. Racial harmony at school could only be achieved in a community where ethnic relations were warm and friendly. Unless some urgent measures are taken, Britain faces the ugly prospects of an almost certain racial explosion in the next ten years. *The time is running out.*

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The present investigation was conducted in one London secondary school. The most obvious need, therefore, is to conduct a similar research on a representative sample of the national population to see if the results could be generalised about the

whole immigrant population in the British Isles. Such a study would be of immense value to the educationists and administrators faced with the problem of immigrants at school. Such study could also make an original contribution towards the formulation of a theoretical model of the mechanism and correlates of adjustment to an alien culture. Britain today provides a unique opportunity for research in the field of resocialization. Immigrants in Britain today include, whites whose mother tongue is a language other than English, coloureds whose mother tongue is a language other than English, coloureds whose mother tongue is English, whites from pre-industrial rural societies, coloureds from pre-industrial rural societies, whites from urban industrial society, coloureds from urban industrial society. It would be a pity indeed if such an opportunity was missed by social scientists.

The national study would obviously require considerable effort and resources. In the meantime, smaller studies carried out along similar lines in different parts of the country could help to determine the specificity and the generality of the findings of the present research. Since the present study did not include children from the Indian subcontinent, there is a need to replicate the study with Indian and Pakistani children.

No causal inferences could be arrived at in the present study. It merely discovered that certain variables were or were not found to be related to adjustment of immigrant children. To discover

causal relationships, a longitudinal study would be required. A longitudinal study of the adjustment of immigrant children with English children as controls could make a significant contribution to knowledge.

There is a large group of immigrant workers in this country. A study of the correlates of adjustment of immigrant workers could make a contribution not only towards the social psychology of ethnic relations but also towards the general theoretical framework of the psychology of migration and resocialisation, an ever increasing phenomenon in the modern world.

As discussed in Chapter 3, research in the area of education of immigrants is almost non-existent. There are endless possibilities of research in the field of attainment, intelligence test performance, interests, personality variables and their relationships with the social structure of Britain. These studies might make valuable suggestions about actions that should be taken in this field. They could also extend the boundaries of our knowledge and understanding of human behaviour.

Lastly, there are a large number of immigrant teachers in this country. No evidence is available about factors which are responsible for their adjustment to the life in Britain in general and to the English education system in particular. Research on immigrant teachers has a valuable part to play.

APPENDIX A

CASE HISTORIES

In view of the exploratory nature of this study, it was decided to examine the case histories of five most well-adjusted West Indian and Cypriot children. It was hoped that the case histories might reveal some variables which are worthy of further investigation for their relationship with, or contribution towards the adjustment of immigrant children.

In the interest of anonymity, all children are labelled here A-X. Table A.1 shows the position on the adjustment scale of the children chosen.

TABLE A.1

	HIGH ADJUSTMENT	LOW ADJUSTMENT
West Indians	A(M) B(F) C(M) D(F) E(M)	L(M) M(M) N(M) O(F) P(F)
Cypriots	F(F) G(F) H(M) J(F) K(F)	Q(M) R(M) S(F) T(M) X(M)

WEST INDIAN:
WELL-ADJUSTED

A, a West Indian boy of 15 had emigrated to England from the West Indies two years ago. He was living with both his parents in a multi-occupation house shared by three other West Indian families. His father worked as a bus conductor on London Transport buses and his mother as a semi-skilled worker in a local factory. A had a younger sister who was still in the West Indies, as was A himself until the age of 13. In the West Indies A was looked after by his grandparents. Coming to England was a very big occasion in his life. He had heard some very encouraging stories about life in England, and was looking forward to meeting his parents whom he had not seen since the age of 3. A had little recollection of his parents before arriving in England. He was accompanied on the journey by an adult immigrant from his own home town and was met at the airport by his parents. Life in England seemed very strange for the first few months. Everything, including his parents, turned out to be so different from what he had imagined. He found that although he had always spoken English as his mother-tongue, communication with English people was difficult. The English schools turned out to be very different from those he was used to in the West Indies. A found progress at academic subjects in school very difficult. He devoted a lot of time to his hobby, boxing, at which he won many major prizes. A had many English and West Indian friends including an English girl friend whom he regarded as his 'best friend'. He was happy with life in England and saw considerable prospect for him as a professional boxer. He did not intend returning home.

WEST INDIAN:
WELL-ADJUSTED

B, a West Indian girl of 13 was born in England of immigrant parents. She went to a local primary school and just missed getting into a grammar school. She spoke English with a perfect local accent and had many English and West Indian friends. Her family was on visiting terms with other English families in the neighbourhood. Her father worked as a skilled mechanic in a local garage but her mother did not go out to work. They lived in a flat in a semi-detached house. Several other West Indian families lived in the same house. B sometimes found the schoolwork interesting and her academic achievement was high. She was a member of her house netball team and had won several prizes at school sports. She wanted to become a nurse when she grew up and was not intending to leave school until 18. B had two elder brothers both of whom were working in local factories and were living at home. Her family had no intention of returning home though B wanted to go back to the West Indies for a holiday. Although she was interested in any news about the West Indies, she thought England was her home. B was always well dressed and was regarded by her teachers as well-mannered.

WEST INDIAN:
WELL-ADJUSTED

C, a West INdian boy of 13 had arrived in England from Jamaica at the age of 5. His parents came a year earlier than he did. C had only vague but pleasant memories of Jamaica and he wanted to go back there for a holiday. He attended a primary school in another part of London and had moved to this area only a year ago. C's father worked as a clerk in the Civil Service while his mother worked as a nurse in a local hospital. C's academic achievement at school was above average but he had not won any prizes at sports or games. He liked attending drama classes at school and hoped to be an actor when he grew up. C thought that the probability of his actually becoming a well-known actor was high. C had several English and West Indian friends but he did not think that any of his English friends were among his 'best friends'. C lived in a terraced house which was occupied by his family only. His family was on visiting terms with other English and West Indian families in the neighbourhood. C had two brothers both of whom were attending local primary schools. He was often accompanied to exhibitions and museums by his parents and younger brothers. His parents also took a keen interest in his progress at school. Neither C's parents nor C himself intended returning home.

WEST INDIAN:
WELL-ADJUSTED

D, a West Indian girl of 11, had arrived in England along with her mother from the West Indies at the age of 9. Her father came to England two years earlier. Before coming to England she had a fairly realistic account of life in England through her mother. She found English climate a little better than she had been led to believe! D attended a mission primary school in the West Indies and a local primary school in England. She spoke English with a perfect local accent. Her academic achievement at school was high and she was well liked by her teachers. D had mostly English friends at school but her family was not on visiting terms with any of the English families in the neighbourhood. D's father worked as a train driver with London Transport and her mother worked in a local factory. D hoped to become a secretary when she grew up and was thinking of staying on at school until she was 17 or 18 years old. Her parents had talked about returning to the West Indies for good, but it was far from certain. D's hobbies were, reading, writing to pen friends abroad, and cycling. She was a very quiet and shy girl and the only child in her family. D thought that the English schools compared very favourably with the West Indian ones. She thought that children in England were very lucky and that they were treated very nicely by teachers.

WEST INDIAN:
WELL-ADJUSTED

E, a West Indian boy of 13 had arrived in England at the age of 4. He had only vague memories of his childhood in the West Indies. E attended primary school in the Midlands and in another part of London before moving to the present school. He spoke English with a perfect local accent and his academic achievement at school was above average. His father worked in the Engineering trade and his mother worked as a nurse in a local hospital. He had three brothers, one older and two younger. The younger brothers were at a local primary school while the older brother was working as an apprentice in a local electrical firm. E wanted to be an electronic engineer when he grew up, an unlikely event judging from his academic achievement. E had many friends, both English and West Indian. An English boy was included in his list of 'best friends'. E lived in a house shared by three other West Indian families. His family was not on visiting terms with any of the English families in the neighbourhood. E was an excellent cricketer and was a member of school cricket and football teams. He had won several prizes at school sports. E was very interested in football and went to see a local first division club whenever they were playing at home. He was accompanied to the football ground by several West Indian and English peers. E was considered as well-disciplined by his teachers and was admired for his prowess at cricket by his peers. Neither E nor his family were contemplating returning home.

CYPRIOT:
WELL-ADJUSTED

F, a Cypriot girl of 14 had arrived in England at the age of 7 from Cyprus. She attended one primary school in Nicosia and one in the same locality where she was attending the secondary school. Before coming to England, she only met her father every two or three years when he went to Cyprus on holidays. She emigrated to England at the same time as her mother. At first, she found great difficulty in communicating with teachers and children at school because she could neither speak nor understand English. The language problem did not last long. She found life in England very secure, a welcome relief from what she remembered as rather dangerous living in Cyprus. She had two sisters and two brothers. Her father owned a garage which she helped to run. Her mother, who spoke little English, did not go out to work. F shared the house where she lived with two other Cypriot and one Indian family. F's academic achievement at school was average and she had won no prizes at school sports. Her family was on visiting terms with several English and Cypriot families in the neighbourhood. At school F had several friends of all races though her list of 'best friends' did not include anyone but Cypriots. She normally spoke Greek at home and ate Greek food. F wanted to become an air-hostess on leaving school. Although F's parents intended returning home in the distant future, F was not thinking of going back to Cyprus to live.

CYPRIOT:
WELL-ADJUSTED

G, a Cypriot girl of 14 had arrived in England at the age of 9 from Cyprus where she was living in a joint family with her mother, grand-parents and several aunts and uncles. Her father had emigrated to England seven years before her. England did not live up to her expectations when she first arrived from Cyprus, the unfriendly climate and neighbours who made no attempt to speak to her, were the unfortunate experiences which stuck in her memory. G spoke little English before her arrival in England but language was not a problem any more. Her father worked as a long distance lorry driver and her mother worked as a dress-maker at home. They normally spoke Greek at home as her mother spoke little English. She had three younger brothers and the children normally spoke in English to each other. Her academic achievement was high and she had won one prize at school sports. Her friends at school included both Cypriot and English children and two of her 'best friends' were English. Her family was not on visiting terms with any English family in the neighbourhood, though they had Cypriot visitors almost everyday. G wanted to become a school-teacher and was thinking of staying on at school as long as she could. G was living in a semi-detached house which was shared by three other Cypriot families. Swimming and collecting stamps were her hobbies. Neither G nor her parents were intending to return home.

CYPRIOT:
WELL-ADJUSTED

H, a Cypriot boy of 16 was born in England. He lived in a detached house with his parents and a younger sister who was at the same school as H. His father was a company director while his mother did not do any paid work. She did undertake, however, a variety of voluntary work. The academic achievement of H was very high. He in fact, ended up with 7 '0' levels, including two grade 1s, an exceptional performance for a pupil at a secondary modern school. H wanted to become a research scientist after completing a degree in Physics. He was transferred to a local grammar school after his '0' level results. H was a member of the school football team and had won three prizes at school sports. He was appointed a 'prefect' at school and was well liked by his teachers. He had several Cypriot and English friends, including an English girl friend whom he regarded as his 'best friend'. His family was on visiting terms with a number of Cypriot and English families in the locality. English was the only language spoken at home. He spoke English with a perfect local accent and by appearance, it was difficult to distinguish him from English boys. E had visited Cyprus on several occasions but regarded England as his home. Neither he nor his family were contemplating returning home.

CYPRIOT:
WELL-ADJUSTED

J, a Cypriot girl of 15 was born in England. Her father owned a café which she and her mother helped to run. J had three brothers all of whom were married and were living in the same house with her. Both English and Greek were spoken at home with about equal frequency. G's family was on visiting terms with other English and Cypriot families in the neighbourhood. G attended a local primary school before coming to her present school. Her academic achievement was above average but she did not win any prizes at school sports nor was she particularly good at any game. J was highly religious and thought that religion was the most important influence in her life. She was an active member of the church youth group and had helped to organise several charity walks. Walking, reading, and listening to records were her hobbies. She had many friends of all races at school. Two of her English friends were included in her list of 'best friends'. J wanted to become a nursing missionary when she left school and was planning to stay at school until she could train as a nurse. J was regarded as a very tidy, unobtrusive and disciplined girl by her teachers. Her parents were planning to return to Cyprus at a future date, but J herself wanted to go to either Africa or China to serve as a nursing missionary.

CYPRIOT:
WELL-ADJUSTED

K, a Cypriot girl of 12 had arrived in England only a year ago from Cyprus. In Cyprus she was living with her mother in a joint family. Her mother also emigrated with her. Her father worked as a kitchen hand and her mother as a waitress in a local café. She had no brothers or sisters. K along with her parents lived in a two roomed flat in a house shared by four other families, two Cypriot, one West Indian and one English. Her parents were on visiting terms with other English and Cypriot families in the neighbourhood. At school, K was on friendly terms with children of all races though her list of 'best friends' was limited to Cypriot children. Her academic achievement was high and she had won several prizes at school sports. K was always neatly dressed and was of a little bigger build than average girls of her age. At home she and her parents mostly spoke Greek but her spoken English was very fluent as was her achievement in written English. K wanted to be a shop assistant when she left school. She was planning to leave school at 16. Her hobbies were swimming, reading and watching television. K found England a much better place than she had expected. Children's hour on television, abundance of parks and libraries were the aspects of English life and scene she found particularly attractive. She found her primary school work more interesting than work at secondary school. Neither K nor her parents were intending to return to Cyprus.

WEST INDIAN:
MALADJUSTED

L, a West Indian boy of 15 had arrived in England from the West Indies at the age of 12. He attended a primary school in the West Indies and two other secondary schools in London before joining his present school. His I.Q. was high but his academic achievement was average. L had an exceptionally low score on the Personal Satisfaction scale. He seemed to be obsessed with real or imagined acts of discrimination against him. He was very unpopular with teachers and children of all races. His attendance at school was irregular and even when at school, he did not attend all the lessons. He had a remarkable factual knowledge of the militant Negro movements in the United States. L lived with his mother who worked as a cleaner in a local hospital. His father had gone back to the West Indies. They lived in a room in a house occupied by six other West Indian couples. His mother was not on visiting terms with any except two West Indian families. At school the list of L's friends was short and consisted exclusively of West Indians. L wanted to take up the legal profession, a highly ambitious proposition in view of his academic achievement. His non-academic achievement was nil, he neither won any prize at sports nor was he any good at games. L was always shabbily dressed and was often seen sitting alone and staring into the air. He had nostalgic memories of his childhood in the West Indies and very much wanted to go back. He claimed that his love for his mother was the only factor keeping him in England. L was often in trouble with the teachers for indiscipline and insubordination in the classroom. An attempt to interest him in school activities by giving him responsible jobs did not succeed in influencing him. He appeared to be completely alienated from the main stream of school life.

WEST INDIAN:
MALADJUSTED

M, a West Indian boy of 13 had emigrated to England from the West Indies at the age of 7. In the West Indies he was looked after by some relatives as his parents had emigrated several years before him. M had two brothers and two sisters. His father worked as a machine inspector and his mother as a conductoress on London Transport. They lived in a terraced house of which they were the sole occupiers except for a male lodger. M's family was not on visiting terms with other English families in the neighbourhood. At school, M had only West Indian friends. Although M was very small for his age, he was often found fighting in the playground with boys twice his size. His academic achievement was very poor, he could hardly write, as was his non-academic achievement. M was often in trouble with the teachers for misbehaviour in the classroom. He was often shabbily dressed. M wanted to become a doctor, an extremely unlikely proposition. He was not given a key to his house and had to wait outside until his parents returned from work. This meant that on certain days, after school, he could not get inside the house and have something to eat until about 7.00 p.m. One day in the winter, when the school closed early unexpectedly, due to the failure of the central heating, he was seen trying to stay inside the school building because of the cold outside and his inability to get into his own home. M was often beaten at home, quite severely at times, for trivial offences. His parents were not thinking of returning home but M wanted to return to the West Indies after qualifying as a doctor.

WEST INDIAN:
MALADJUSTED

N, a West Indian boy of 14 had arrived in England from Jamaica at the age of 8½. His father had emigrated three years earlier but his mother came to England at the same time as he did. N was living with his mother, his father was living somewhere else (his parents were never legally married). N did not attend school regularly while he was in Jamaica. In England he had gone to no less than six primary schools in a period of less than three years. His mother worked as a cook in a local school. They lived in a room in a house shared by four other West Indian families. N's mother was not on visiting terms with any English families in the neighbourhood. At school, N had few friends almost exclusively West Indians. No English child was included in his list of friends. N's academic achievement as well as his non-academic achievement was very poor. N wanted to become a mechanic when he grew up and was thinking of leaving school as soon as he could. N had nostalgic memories of his childhood in the West Indies and wanted to return there at the earliest opportunity. His mother was also thinking in terms of going back. Although N was rarely in trouble at school, he was regarded as lethargic and as having no zest for life by his teachers.

WEST INDIAN:
MALADJUSTED

O, a West Indian girl of 13 had arrived in England two years ago. In the West Indies she was looked after by her relatives until she could join her mother and step-father in England. Her step-father worked as a porter on the British Rail while her mother worked as a shop assistant. They lived in a two roomed flat in a house shared by one other West Indian family. She did not have any brothers or sisters. O's family was not on visiting terms with any English family in the neighbourhood. At school, O claimed to have just two friends, both West Indian girls, but no 'best friend'. Her academic achievement was very poor and she had not won any prize at sports or a place in a school or house teams. She was very withdrawn and rarely talked to other children. O's attendance at school was very irregular and even when she attended school she was persistently late. A visit by the School Welfare Officer discovered that she was staying away from school without her mother's knowledge or consent. She was severely beaten by her mother for this offence. O's spoken English was hardly comprehensible, she spoke very quietly and with a very heavy West Indian accent. She had no idea what she wanted as a career. Her hobby was watching television. Apart from school, she did not read any book, not even a children's comic. She had no toys or dolls. About six months after the recording of this case history, O along with her mother emigrated back to Jamaica.

WEST INDIAN:
MALADJUSTED

P, a West Indian girl of 16, had emigrated to England from Trinidad at the age of 7. She attended a primary school, for the first time, in Birmingham and later in London. She lived with her mother who worked in a factory. Her father was still in the West Indies. She had one brother and one sister. P's family was not on visiting terms with any English family in the neighbourhood. At school P had many friends, both English and West Indian, though her list of 'best friends' did not include any English children. Her academic achievement was above average and she was a member of the school netball team. P and her family lived in a two-roomed flat in a house shared by three other West Indian families. Money was constantly short and she had to work in the evenings to help her mother. P wanted to become a teacher and was intending to stay on at school until she was 18. She claimed that she had many English friends when she was younger but as she grew older, they deserted her one by one. She was appointed a 'prefect' at the school and was considered responsible, well-mannered, and disciplined by her teachers. Her hobbies were dancing and listening to music. P and her mother intended returning home in a few years time. A year after the recording of this case history, P committed suicide.

CYPRIOT:
MALADJUSTED

Q, a Cypriot boy of 14 had emigrated from Cyprus three years ago. He was living with his older brother and father, who worked in a butcher's shop. His mother was still in Cyprus. The boys had to do most of the cooking and household work. Q was a Muslim and observed strict dietery and religious customs. He lived in one room in a house occupied by two other Italian families. Q's family was not on visiting terms with any English families in the neighbourhood. The medium of conversation at home was Turkish. Q's fluency of spoken English was poor as was his health, academic and non-academic achievement. Q's list of friends at school was limited to two other Turkish Cypriots and three West Indians. He did not consider any of them to be his 'best friends'. Q wanted to become an electrician and was intending to leave school at the earliest opportunity. Q's hobbies were cycling and watching television. He did not read any book other than those at school. Q had a very good attendance record at school, he was rarely absent and never late. He had an exceptionally high 'extraversion' and 'interest in things' score. Since his arrival in England Q had never gone to any seaside resort and had been out of London on only two occasions. Neither he nor his father was intending to return to Cyprus.

CYPRIOT:
MALADJUSTED

R, a Cypriot boy of 12 had arrived in England from Cyprus at the age of 4. He attended a local primary school. His father was working as a loader in a local warehouse while his mother did not go out to work. He had no brothers or sisters. He lived in a house shared by one Cypriot and one Irish family. His parents were not on visiting terms with any English families in the neighbourhood. At school, R's academic achievement was poor. He had not won any prizes at sports nor was he a member of any school or house teams. His list of friends was confined to Greek Cypriots at school. R was considered as a behaviour problem by his teachers. Greek was the language normally spoken at home, but he spoke English with considerable fluency. His attainment in both 'vocabulary' and 'written English' was very poor. R intended to become an electrician on leaving school at 15. Swimming and watching football were his hobbies and he went to watch football every fortnight with his father. His father had once returned to Cyprus for about a year but decided against staying there permanently. R and his mother had never left England since their arrival and did not intend returning home. R had never gone on a holiday nor had he been out of London. He had never gone South of the Thames nor had he ever been to a museum or an exhibition.

CYPRIOT:
MALADJUSTED

S, a Cypriot girl of 15 had arrived in England from Cyprus at the age of 11. Her parents worked in a grocery store which they owned. They lived in a flat on top of the store. She had one younger brother who was attending a local primary school. Her family was not on visiting terms with any English families in the area. She was Muslim by religion and strict religious and dietery customs were observed at home. She did not adhere to such dietery customs (without the knowledge of her parents) at school. Turkish was normally spoken at home but her spoken English was fluent. Her list of friends included several Cypriot and English children as did her list of 'best friends'. Her academic and non-academic achievement was poor. At home S was not allowed to go out with anyone, even girl friends, without adult supervision. She had to explain to her mother even if she was a few minutes late getting home after school. She was not allowed to go on any school outings, journeys, or take part in any extra-curricular activities. The only young man she was allowed to talk with at length, was a Turkish Cypriot boy who was chosen by their parents as her prospective husband. She was accompanied by her mother even when she went out with him. After leaving school at the first opportunity, she was told, that she would have to work in her parent's store although she would have very much liked to be a sales assistant. She was very envious of her English girl friends who were allowed very much more freedom and was seething with resentment against her parents. S wanted to leave home by any means she could. Her parents were planning to return to Cyprus to live.

CYPRIOT:
MALADJUSTED

T, a Cypriot boy of 15 was born in England. He attended primary schools in Bedford and London before coming to the present school. His father worked as a kitchen assistant and his mother as a shop assistant. They lived in a house which was not shared by any other family. He had three brothers and one sister. Greek was normally spoken at home though the children often spoke to each other in English. The fluency of T's spoken English was average but his 'attainment in English' and 'vocabulary' scores were very poor. His family was on visiting terms with several Cypriot and one English family in the neighbourhood. At school, the list of T's friends did not include an English child. His attendance record, academic achievement, and non-academic achievement were all poor. Swimming and sports were his hobbies. He wanted to become an engineer, an unlikely event, in view of his poor academic achievement. T was often in trouble with his teachers for late arrival at school, non-completion of schoolwork and misbehaviour in the classroom. Neither T nor his parents were intending to return home.

CYPRIOT:
MALADJUSTED

X, a Cypriot boy of 14 was born in England. He attended six primary schools in different parts of the country before joining the present school. His father worked as a carpenter but his mother did not go out to work. She could speak very little English. He had one brother and one sister who were attending a local primary school. They lived in a house which was not shared by any other family. X's family was not on visiting terms with any English family in the neighbourhood. Greek was spoken at home, but the fluency of X's spoken English was average. His written English and vocabulary were very poor however. At school X's list of friends included several English and Cypriot boys but his list of 'best friends' was limited to Cypriot boys only. X was never in trouble with his teachers at school who regarded him as withdrawn, disciplined, but of limited academic ability. Reading children's comics was his only hobby. He never read a book outside school. X had never been on a holiday nor had he been to a seaside resort except on one occasion when he went camping with 'cubs'. He was given generous pocket money allowance but his parents never accompanied him to museums, exhibitions, theatres, cinemas, or fairgrounds. X was planning to take up a job as a cutter in a local glass factory where his cousin was working. He was intending to leave school at the earliest possible opportunity. His parents had discussed returning to Cyprus several times, they were certain that they would go back, but did not know when. X was also thinking of going back to Cyprus to live.

APPENDIX B

CONSTRUCTION OF THE ADJUSTMENT SCALE

The concept of adjustment as defined in Chapter 5 is multi-dimensional. For a person to be regarded as well-adjusted, he must be

(a) socially acceptable,
(b) personally satisfied,
(c) have an objective self-concept, and,
(d) be free from anxiety.

It was, therefore, decided to construct four sub-scales to measure each of the variables. The scores on each of the four sub-scales could then be normalised and added to give the composite adjustment scores.

SOCIAL ACCEPTABILITY

Social acceptability was defined as the degree of acceptance of the child by his peers in situations involving voluntary social interaction. Items were written to cover the various aspects of such social interaction between school children in London. The social situations may be classified into five categories.

(a) Those involving considerable degree of social interaction.

(b) Formal situations where social interaction may be kept to a minimum.

(c) Situations in which the testee is in a position of authority over other children.

(d) Situations in which the testee's activities bring recognition to the school.

(e) Situations showing extreme rejection.

Each testee was rated by five of his randomly selected classmates on each item. Chart B.1 shows

the complete list of the test items and instructions. The category of social interaction to which each item belonged is given in brackets.

CHART B.1

INSTRUCTIONS

This is a test to measure how children feel about each other. Please answer as quickly as possible. Do not spend a lot of time thinking about each question. Only your first impression is required. Put a tick if your answer is yes, a cross if your answer is no, and an O if you are not sure.

Would you like ---------- to be

1. In your school (B)
2. In your class (B)
3. In same house as you at school (B)
4. In your registration group (A)
5. Your dinner table companion (A)
6. Next-door neighbour where you live (A)
7. Your class monitor (C)
8. Your house captain (C)
9. Your games captain (C)
10. A prefect (C)
11. In your school football or netball team (D)
12. In your house football or netball team (D)
13. Your best friend (A)
14. In the seat next to you in the classroom (A)
15. Partner when you go out camping (A)
16. In your drama group (A)
17. With you when you are on holidays (A)
18. Thrown out of England (E)
19. Thrown out of London (E)
20. In your family (A)

The yes, don't know and no responses on the positive items were given a weighting of 2, 1 and 0 respectively. The scoring on the negative items was reversed. The score of a testee on this scale was computed by summing the weights of the ratings received by him on all the items by five raters, and

dividing the score by five. Thus the score represented the average rating by five peers on this scale.

The scores of 200 randomly selected testees were then subjected to an upper and lower thirds item analysis. The results of the item analysis are given in Table B.1.

As a result of the item analysis, items 5, 12, 15, 17 and 20 were rejected. The remaining items, 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 16, 18, and 19 formed the social acceptability scale.

Since the test was scored on a 3-point scale, the item analysis was done twice. Once, score 2 and 1 on each item was treated as a pass, while the second time, the score of 2 only was treated as passing each item. Similarly, the upper and lower thirds items analysis was done twice on all the four adjustment sub-scales.

The scale was then subjected to Guttman analysis for determining scalability. The coefficient of reproducibility was found to be 0.79. The analysis showed that the scale was fairly uni-dimensional and that the various items could be arranged in order.

TABLE B.1

ITEM ANALYSIS OF THE SOCIAL ACCEPTABILITY SCALE

ITEM	U+L (P = 2, 1)	U-L (P = 2, 1)	U+L (P = 2)	U-L (P = 2)	Whether accepted
1	76	33	58	43	Yes
2	62	39	46	42	Yes
3	75	45	71	40	Yes
4	72	68	51	42	Yes
5	84	17	78	14	No
6	78	36	68	53	Yes
7	77	39	45	39	Yes
8	60	25	53	37	Yes
9	73	42	61	45	Yes
10	79	41	47	29	Yes
11	69	28	62	33	Yes
12	32	11	28	8	No
13	74	42	63	27	Yes
14	81	43	69	56	Yes
15	70	8	48	12	No
16	57	48	46	35	Yes
17	70	-12	60	- 8	No
18	80	46	70	36	Yes
19	82	53	72	42	Yes
20	16	12	9	3	No

PERSONAL SATISFACTION

Personal satisfaction was defined as the degree of satisfaction an individual derives from his perception of the self, his social environment and his personal relationships. Since personal satisfaction is conceived in terms of the testee's perception of self and his social environment, the test was based on self-ratings. 28 items sampling satisfaction with the most significant aspect of a pupil's life, viz., the school, family relationships, the self, peer group relations, teacher pupil relationship and the neighbourhood were constructed. The items

and the instructions to the testees are listed in Chart B.2. The Yes, not sure and no responses on the positive items were scored 2, 1 and 0 respectively. The scoring on the negative items was reversed.

The test was then subjected to the upper and lower third technique of item analysis. The results of the analysis are given in Table B.2. As a result of the item analysis, items 5, 8, 10, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 19, 21, 22, 26 and 28 were rejected. The remaining items constituted the personal satisfaction scale.

The co-efficient of reproducibility, computed by employing the Guttman scalogram analysis, was found to be 0.83. The scale appears to be fairly uni-dimensional.

CHART B.2

PERSONAL SATISFACTION SCALE ITEMS

INSTRUCTIONS

This is a test to find out the way you feel. Given below are some statements which may or may not be true of you. If the statement is true, write T against the statement, if it is not true, write F (for false). But if you are not sure, write O. Answer quickly and do not spend a lot of time thinking about each question.

1. I am quite happy in my class.
2. Our school is as good as any other Secondary Modern School.
3. I would like to change my house at school.
4. My father treats me well.
5. I don't like going to my registration group.
6. I like my friends at school.
7. I get on well with my mother.
8. I like it when we have to do work at school.
9. I get on well with teachers.
10. I am happy with my friends outside school.
11. I am unhappy with life.
12. My brothers and sisters worry me.
13. Games should be stopped at school.
14. We should get more holidays.
15. I would not change places with anyone else.
16. I wish I was better at my lessons.
17. I wish I was better at games.
18. It would be a good idea if our family moved to another district.
19. I don't like being in my class.
20. Teachers don't like me.
21. My friends are not fair to me.
22. I like my relatives.
23. I enjoy being in my registration group.
24. I enjoy being at school.
25. I wish I had more friends.
26. I don't like living in this country.
27. I wish I was better looking.
28. I would like to live in a different town.

TABLE B.2

PERSONAL SATISFACTION SCALE ITEM ANALYSIS

ITEM	U+L (P = 2, 1)	U-L (P = 2, 1)	U+L (P = 2)	U-L (P = 2)	Whether accepted
1	59	42	52	47	Yes
2	66	35	48	29	Yes
3	81	33	70	39	Yes
4	60	31	48	33	Yes
5	48	17	32	14	No
6	76	46	60	48	Yes
7	64	30	46	24	Yes
8	21	8	17	10	No
9	75	51	63	33	Yes
10	74	21	68	11	No
11	62	32	51	33	Yes
12	28	7	14	4	No
13	76	18	46	17	No
14	92	4	84	6	No
15	78	38	54	33	Yes
16	44	20	34	12	No
17	46	7	44	7	No
18	73	45	72	35	Yes
19	20	4	16	7	No
20	72	59	60	34	Yes
21	68	17	44	10	No
22	32	17	28	15	No
23	73	30	57	26	Yes
24	79	38	69	30	Yes
25	69	29	55	36	Yes
26	50	12	36	10	No
27	60	45	56	32	Yes
28	54	17	34	8	No

OBJECTIVITY OF SELF-CONCEPT

The objectivity of self-concept was defined as the degree of overlap between the perceived self or the "self as we see it" and the objective self or the "self as others see it". It was decided to measure this variable by asking (a) the testee to assess himself on a series of items about himself

and (b) five of his randomly selected peers to assess the testee on the same series of items, and computing the difference between the two sets of assessments. The more usual technique employed in several researches has been to compare "perceived self" with the "ideal self". In other words attempts are made to compare "self as we see it" with "self as we would like it to be". The difference between the two has often been employed as the indicator of personal adjustment, the smaller the gap, the higher the adjustment. Indeed Rogers (1947) sees the reduction of the difference between the perceived and the ideal self as the major goal of psycho-therapy.

In view of the theoretical discussion about the psychological nature of adjustment, objectivity of self concept was regarded as an essential element in an individual's mastery over environment, both physical and social. Objectivity of self concept was regarded as one of the four but not the sole criterion of adjustment. Objectivity of self concept was conceived as the difference between the "self as we see it" and the "self as others see it". Hence the most appropriate technique available to measure this variable was to compare the self ratings of the testees with the peer ratings about the various aspects of the self. The smaller the deviation between the two measures, the higher the objectivity of the self concept. The more usual technique of comparing "perceived self" with "ideal self", apart from being in variance with the theoretical framework of this thesis, appears to be unsuitable for

children as they find it extremely difficult to envisage the "ideal self".

25 items covering the various aspects of the self concept, physical appearance, performance, relationship with teachers, relationship with others, abilities and overall success, were written. The items were scored +1 for a true or yes response, -1 for a false or no response and 0 for a not sure response. The self ratings on each item were then compared with the average peer ratings score on that item. The difference between the self and the peer rating, regardless of the positive or negative sign, was taken as the score of the individual on that item. The total score was then obtained by summing the scores on all the items on the scale. Since the lower the score the higher the objectivity of the self-concept, the total score was then subtracted from the maximum possible score of 30 to bring it in line with other adjustment sub-scales. Thus 30 minus total score gave the score on the objectivity of self-concept scale. Chart B.3 gives the items and the instructions for the self ratings as well as for the peer ratings.

CHART B.3a

OBJECTIVITY OF THE SELF CONCEPT SCALE
(SELF RATINGS)

INSTRUCTIONS

This is a test to find out the way you feel. Given below are some statements which may or may not be true of you. If the statement is true of you write T against it, if it is not true of you write F (for false) against it. But if you are not sure write 0. Answer quickly and do not spend a lot of time thinking about each question.

1. I am liked by my classmates.
2. I hate myself.
3. I am a failure.
4. I usually like people.
5. Other people are happy with me.
6. I am good at games.
7. I am good at classwork.
8. I feel hopeless.
9. I am worthless.
10. I am liked by teachers.
11. My books are usually neat.
12. I am usually 'picked on' by the teachers.
13. I am a bully.
14. I am usually well behaved.
15. I am usually well dressed.
16. I am intelligent.
17. I am a hard worker.
18. I am not as good as other boys and girls.
19. I am unreliable.
20. I am 'no good'.
21. My teachers trust me.
22. I am helpful.
23. My classmates like to play with me.
24. I am a responsible person.
25. I am an attractive person.

CHART B.3b

OBJECTIVITY OF THE SELF CONCEPT SCALE
(PEER RATINGS)

INSTRUCTIONS

This is a test to find out how children feel about each other. Please answer as quickly as possible. Do not spend a lot of time thinking about each question. Put a tick if the answer is yes, a cross if the answer is no and an O if you are not sure.

Do you think that ----------

1. Is liked by his classmates.
2. Hates himself.
3. Is a failure.
4. Usually likes people.
5. Other people are happy with him.
6. Is good at games.
7. Is good at classwork.
8. Feels hopeless.
9. Is worthless.
10. Is liked by teachers.
11. Is in the habit of keeping neat books.
12. Is usually 'picked on' by the teachers.
13. Is a bully.
14. Is usually well behaved.
15. Is usually well dressed.
16. Is intelligent.
17. Is a hard worker.
18. Is not as good as other boys and girls.
19. Is unreliable.
20. Is 'no good'.
21. Is trusted by teachers.
22. Is helpful.
23. Is liked by classmates to play with.
24. Is responsible.
25. Is attractive.

The test was subjected to the upper and lower thirds technique of item analysis. The results of the analysis are set out in Table B.3. As a result of the analysis, items 2, 5, 8, 9, 13, 18, 19, 20,

23 and 24 were rejected. The remaining items constituted the objectivity of the self concept scale. The co-efficient of reproducibility, computed by Guttman method, was found to be 0.78. This co-efficient could not be further improved.

TABLE B.3

OBJECTIVITY OF THE SELF CONCEPT - ITEM ANALYSIS

ITEM	U+L (P = 0.5 - 2)	U-L (P = 0.5 - 2)	U+L (P = 1.5 - 2)	U-L (P = 1.5 - 2)	Whether Accepted
1	57	41	51	52	Yes
2	44	14	34	6	No
3	53	45	43	28	Yes
4	73	54	71	48	Yes
5	73	17	44	- 6	No
6	70	37	46	26	Yes
7	73	40	54	43	Yes
8	28	8	18	10	No
9	44	15	24	6	No
10	77	38	45	24	Yes
11	63	32	52	33	Yes
12	62	39	55	34	Yes
13	82	12	64	8	No
14	59	44	58	42	Yes
15	72	37	60	34	Yes
16	61	46	59	49	Yes
17	64	48	63	43	Yes
18	28	16	18	7	No
19	43	5	23	9	No
20	35	15	30	10	No
21	65	33	52	26	Yes
22	77	57	58	29	Yes
23	18	7	16	9	No
24	25	6	18	5	No
25	64	48	46	39	Yes

FREEDOM FROM ANXIETY SCALE

Of the four adjustment sub-scales, the 'freedom from anxiety' sub-scale proved to be the most difficult to construct. A survey of the previous

researches revealed that the attempt to measure anxiety have been made through paper-and-pencil tests, behavioural observations, and physiological indices.

The Taylor Manifest Anxiety Scale or MAS (Taylor, 1953) has been one of the most widely used paper and pencil measures of manifest anxiety. The test was constructed by selecting 200 items from the MMPI and asking five clinical psychologists to rate the extent to which the items indicated manifest anxiety. 80% or better agreement was reached on 65 of the items which constituted the original scale. This was later reduced to 50 items as a result of internal consistency item analysis (Bechtoldt, 1953). The MAS was found to have a test-retest reliability of .80 after three weeks, .82 after five months and .81 over 9 to 17 months (Taylor, 1953).

Several attempts have been made to correlate MAS scores with physiological measures of anxiety. Raphelson (1957) and Silverman (1957) tried to relate the changes in the conductivity of the subjects' skin during anxiety producing experiments, with the Taylor Manifest Anxiety scale scores. No significant correlation was found. Similarly, no relationship could be established between the changes in the skin moisture and the verbal measures of anxiety. (Jackson and Bloomberg, 1958). A very low negative correlation was found between the MAS scores, and the eye blinking rate in a stressful situation (Jackson and Bloomberg, 1958). No significant differences were found between the blood cholestrol

level of the high and low scores on the MAS (Golding and Harvey, 1964). It seems thus, that the physiological measures of anxiety do not correlate with the verbal ones. It has been suggested that the two sets of measures may be assessing unrelated sets of responses.

Clinical psychologists and psychiatrists have, for long, employed certain behavioural observations as indicative of anxiety. Nail biting, Knuckle cracking, chain smoking, profuse perspiration, for example, have been regarded as signs of a high anxiety level. Buss et. al. (1955), found a high correlation between these behavioural symptoms of anxiety and the MAS scores. Moderate to high correlations have been reported between the MAS scores and counsellors ratings (Hoyt and Magoon, 1954) and psychologists ratings (Buss, 1955; Lauterbach, 1958).

The strongest doubt on the validity of the MAS was cast by Edwards (1957). He constructed a 39 item Social Desirability scale to measure that variable. A correlation of -0.84 was found between the Social Desirability and the MAS scores. It appears that both scales are measuring similar dimension of behaviour and that the responses to the MAS items are strongly influenced by their social desirability values. It seems that an undisguised verbal test of anxiety would not be appropriate to measure this variable. For it seems likely that an anxious person would be less likely to reveal his socially undesirable behaviour patterns.

In Chapter 5 anxiety was conceived of as a "vague generalised feeling of fear". An anxious individual thus feels threatened from an unknown source. The more threatened a person feels, the less likely he will be to accept a damaging statement about himself. It was thus proposed to measure freedom from anxiety through ability to accept damaging statements about oneself.

A list of 20 items was compiled, mainly through borrowing the items from Taylor and Combs (1952). The items consist of damaging statements about the testee. The statements are probably true of children. The list of items was shown to several experienced teachers who agreed unanimously that all children, at one time or another, commit the misdeeds listed. The testees were asked to indicate if the items were true of them. The degree of the acceptance of the items was taken as an index of the freedom from anxiety of the testees. Chart B.4 lists the items and instructions. True, not sure, and false response to the items were weighted 2, 1 and 0 respectively. The total freedom from anxiety score was obtained by summing the weightings of all the responses on the scale.

CHART B.4

FREEDOM FROM ANXIETY SCALE - ORIGINAL ITEMS

INSTRUCTIONS

This is a test to find out how children in this school behave. Given below are some statements which may or may not be true of you. If the statement is true of you write T against the statement, if it is not true of you write F (for false). But if you are not sure, write 0. Answer quickly and do not spend a lot of time thinking about each question.

1. I sometimes disobey my parents.
2. I sometimes swear.
3. I sometimes copy or cheat on schoolwork.
4. I am sometimes rude to older people.
5. I sometimes tell lies.
6. I sometimes make fun of my classmates.
7. I sometimes pretend to forget things I am supposed to do.
8. I sometimes steal things when I know I will not be caught.
9. I sometimes tell fibs to my classmates.
10. I sometimes pretend to be sick to get out of things.
11. I sometimes am unkind to younger children.
12. I sometimes am lazy and won't do my work.
13. I sometimes tell dirty jokes.
14. I sometimes cheat in games.
15. I sometimes misbehave at school.
16. I sometimes do not wash my face on purpose.
17. I sometimes answer back to my mother.
18. I am sometimes mean to animals.
19. I sometimes waste my time when I should be working.
20. I sometimes show off in front of other children.

The test was then subjected to the upper and lower thirds item analysis technique. The results obtained are set out in Table B.4. As a result of the item analysis, items 6, 8, 16, 18 and 19 were rejected. The remaining items constituted

the freedom from anxiety scale. The Guttman scalogram analysis showed a reproducibility coefficient of 0.76 which could not be improved further. It appears that the scale is fairly uni-dimensional.

TABLE B.4

FREEDOM FROM ANXIETY SCALE - ITEM ANALYSIS

ITEM	U+L (U = 2, 1)	U-L	U+L (U = 1)	U-L	Wheather Accepted
1	75	46	59	38	Yes
2	72	47	66	49	Yes
3	75	36	38	29	Yes
4	70	48	51	23	Yes
5	56	26	55	32	Yes
6	28	17	20	10	No
7	67	28	52	29	Yes
8	55	8	35	9	No
9	56	48	44	37	Yes
10	74	40	59	27	Yes
11	73	42	70	48	Yes
12	57	32	49	22	Yes
13	73	32	49	32	Yes
14	68	45	53	32	Yes
15	56	49	54	37	Yes
16	88	13	76	9	No
17	66	37	48	27	Yes
18	18	6	8	4	No
19	85	13	69	17	No
20	63	29	52	37	Yes

APPENDIX C

THE ADJUSTMENT QUESTIONNAIRE

Name Form Age

INSTRUCTIONS

This is a test to measure how children feel about each other. Please answer as quickly as possible. Do not spend a lot of time thinking about each question. Only your first impression is required. Put a tick if your answer is yes, a cross if your answer is no, and an O if you are not sure.

Would you like ---------- to be

1. In your school
2. In your class
3. In same house as you at school
4. In your registration group
5. Your dinner table companion
6. Next-door neighbour where you live
7. Your class monitor
8. Your house captain
9. Your games captain
10. A prefect
11. In your school football or netball team
12. In your house football or netball team
13. Your best friend
14. In the seat next to you in the classroom
15. Partner when you go out camping
16. In your drama group
17. With you when you are on holidays
18. Thrown out of England
19. Thrown out of London
20. In your family

INSTRUCTIONS

This is a test to find out the way you feel. Given below are some statements which may or may not be true of you. If the statement is true, write T against the statement, if it is not true, write F (for false). But if you are not sure, write 0. Answer quickly and do not spend a lot of time thinking about each question.

1. I am quite happy in my class.
2. Our school is as good as any other Secondary Modern School.
3. I would like to change my house at school.
4. My father treats me well.
5. I don't like going to my registration group.
6. I like my friends at school.
7. I get on well with my mother.
8. I like it when we have to do work at school.
9. I get on well with teachers.
10. I am happy with my friends outside school.
11. I am unhappy with life.
12. My brothers and sisters worry me.
13. Games should be stopped at school.
14. We should get more holidays.
15. I would not change places with anyone else.
16. I wish I was better at my lessons.
17. I wish I was better at games.
18. It would be a good idea if our family moved to another district.
19. I don't like being in my class.
20. Teachers don't like me.
21. My friends are not fair to me.
22. I like my relatives.
23. I enjoy being in my registration group.
24. I enjoy being at school.
25. I wish I had more friends.
26. I don't like living in this country.
27. I wish I was better looking.
28. I would like to live in a different town.

INSTRUCTIONS

This is a test to find out the way you feel. Given below are some statements which may or may not be true of you. If the statement is true of you write T against it, if it is not true of you write F (for false) against it. But if you are not sure write 0. Answer quickly and do not spend a lot of time thinking about each question.

1. I am liked by my classmates.
2. I hate myself.
3. I am a failure.
4. I usually like people.
5. Other people are happy with me.
6. I am good at games.
7. I am good at classwork.
8. I feel hopeless.
9. I am worthless.
10. I am liked by teachers.
11. My books are usually neat.
12. I am usually 'picked on' by the teachers.
13. I am a bully.
14. I am usually well behaved.
15. I am usually well dressed.
16. I am intelligent.
17. I am a hard worker.
18. I am not as good as other boys and girls.
19. I am unreliable.
20. I am 'no good'.
21. My teachers trust me.
22. I am helpful.
23. My classmates like to play with me.
24. I am a responsible person.
25. I am an attractive person.

INSTRUCTIONS

This is a test to find out how children feel about each other. Please answer as quickly as possible. Do not spend a lot of time thinking about each question. Put a tick if the answer is yes, a cross if the answer is no and an O if you are not sure.

Do you think that ----------

1. Is liked by his classmates.
2. Hates himself.
3. Is a failure.
4. Usually likes people.
5. Other people are happy with him.
6. Is good at games.
7. Is good at classwork.
8. Feels hopeless.
9. Is worthless.
10. Is liked by teachers.
11. Is in the habit of keeping neat books.
12. Is usually 'picked on' by the teachers.
13. Is a bully.
14. Is usually well behaved.
15. Is usually well dressed.
16. Is intelligent.
17. Is a hard worker.
18. Is not as good as other boys and girls.
19. Is unreliable.
20. Is 'no good'.
21. Is trusted by teachers.
22. Is helpful.
23. Is liked by classmates to play with.
24. Is responsible.
25. Is attractive.

INSTRUCTIONS

This is a test to find out how children in this school behave. Given below are some statements which may or may not be true of you. If the statement is true of you write T against the statement, if it is not true of you write F (for false). But if you are not sure, write 0. Answer quickly and do not spend a lot of time thinking about each question.

1. I sometimes disobey my parents.
2. I sometimes swear.
3. I sometimes copy or cheat on schoolwork.
4. I am sometimes rude to older people.
5. I sometimes tell lies.
6. I sometimes make fun of my classmates.
7. I sometimes pretend to forget things I am supposed to do.
8. I sometimes steal things when I know I will not be caught.
9. I sometimes tell fibs to my classmates.
10. I sometimes pretend to be sick to get out of things.
11. I sometimes am unkind to younger children.
12. I sometimes am lazy and won't do my work.
13. I sometimes tell dirty jokes.
14. I sometimes cheat in games.
15. I sometimes misbehave at school.
16. I sometimes do not wash my face on purpose.
17. I sometimes answer back to my mother.
18. I am sometimes mean to animals.
19. I sometimes waste my time when I should be working.
20. I sometimes show off in front of other children.

APPENDIX D

THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Name Form Age

1. Come in ----------. Please take a seat.
2. As you probably already know, I am conducting a scientific research to find out more about children and to see if they are facing any special difficulty at school. I will ask you a few questions - you don't have to answer them if you don't want to. But if you do answer, it may help you and possibly other children. Would you mind answering a few questions?
3.* Which place were you born in? (If it is a village ask the name of the nearest town).
4.* When did you come to England?
5. Are both your parents here?
6. What does your father do for his living?
7.* What did he do back home?
8. Does your mother go out to work?
9. Have you any brothers or sisters? How many?
10. Do other families live in the same house as you?
11.* Do you think that you will go back home, not just for a visit but for good?
12.* What language do you generally speak at home?
13. What is your religion?
14. Could you name the boys and girls you regard as your friends?
15. Who among these are your best friends? (If any of the children named as a friend or a best friend is not at school enquire about his details especially nationality).
16.* Do your parents ever visit an English family?
17.* Does any English family ever visit you?
18. What job do you think you deserve to get when you leave school?
19. What job do you think you will actually get when you leave school?

*Questions marked * were for immigrant children only.

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